Daily Report

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CEMA Summit 'Beginning of Balanced Interests'

AU1601143890 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 Jan 90 p 2

[Ivan Ivanov commentary: "End of 'Unanimity,' Beginning of Balanced Interests"]

[Text] The recently concluded 45th CEMA session convinced us that the association of countries within the socialist community is hastily learning the language of politico-economic dialogue. So far the political part of this dialogue has been mastered, because, despite differences in viewpoints, the necessary consensus was nonetheless hammered out. It is formulated in two phrases, making up 27 column lines of the final communique published in the newspapers. However, it will be a long road from political agreements in principle on a radical renewal of the entire system and mechanism of cooperation within the framework of the community (on reexamining CEMA's functions and goals, drafting a new statute to meet the challenges of the time, and so on) toward the specific economic realization of these agreements.

This crucially important session, as defined by most government leaders and foreign political commentators, also changed "in passing" the actual style of relations within CEMA. Everyone knows that until recently these relations bore a markedly paternalistic character. Figuratively speaking, the member countries resembled a large clan led by its rather conservative and despotic "chief," in which an outward unanimity reigned that diverted the differences in positions among the states into sides taken in internal discussions. We have seen many CEMA sessions that proceeded like clan gatherings—without airing their dirty linen in the backyard, and ending with loudly proclaimed and quickly forgotten decisions, with the obligatory group photograph of the political leaders.

This time the hackneyed tone of stagnant protocol was disturbed even before the event began. The conflicting positions were brought out into the open, in the statements made by CSSR Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus, by USSR Council of Ministers Chairman Nikolay Ryzhkov, and by Academician Oleg Bogomolov, director of the Economics of the World Socialist System Institute under the USSR Academy of Sciences, on 3 January. Of course, nothing terrible occurred; there was no "collapse," as some people had forecast. A frank dialogue took place on the problems and the ways of using this opportunity (maybe the last) for a renewed CEMA that meets the challenges of the time. The differences between our countries are quite natural, to the same degree that the stage of our countries' development is governed by the laws of history and economics. If, however, the "epoch of complete unanimity" ended on 10 January, what will replace it?

Within CEMA's political climate, some quite new (in every respect) and vivid figures have made their appearance. We will make no mistake if we say that this reflects the stage which the processes of democratization have reached in a number of socialist countries. With "perestroyka," governments are coming to power and leaders appearing that do not fit into the traditional mold. The released energy and initiative of the peoples and their own intellectual qualities push them toward radicalism and fresh, original political ideas. Time is needed in order to adjust to the new situation, reassess the economic reality, and, maybe...to part company with certain romantic illusions in the economic field.

At his news conference, USSR Council of Ministers Chairman Nikolay Ryzhkov gave a very clear hint that economic integration within CEMA forms a very intricate system that truly exists, the destruction of which may have unforeseeable consequences. For example, Polish metallurgy can hardly exist (nor indeed can Bulgarian metallurgy either) without the Soviet ore deliveries, which constitute up to 70 percent of the total volume of deliveries. The USSR also evidently needs, for example, the sulfur obtained from Poland. It is no accident that Mongolia and Yugoslavia have joined the general agreement for multilateral cooperation in electronics just now. It is evident that we need one another.

On the other hand, even pessimistic economists believe that in two years time the "economic fortress" of Western Europe will already be a fact. It is not a matter of indifference whether we will knock on the doors of this fortress separately, or whether we will also still have the alternative of cooperation within CEMA.

A complex period of restructuring lies ahead, during which the political consensus must be reinforced by economic consolidation. Obstacles may be expected, in differences in national legislation, in the specific economic situation, and, if we are talking about freely convertible currency as a basis for settlements, the degree of readiness of the national and international banking institutions and the available set of financial tools...and who knows what else. This implies precisely balancing economic interests in such a way as not to impair the communality of these interests. A difficult task, but one that is perfectly possible to achieve before the Budapest meeting.

Hungarian Correspondent Retracts Gunfire Report

AU2401093490 Tirana ATA in English 0733 GMT 24 Jan 90

["Hungarian Radio Correspondent Confutes the News That There Have Been Gun Shots in Tirana on January 22"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, January 23 (ATA)—On January 23 several foreign news agencies, such as TANJUG, AFP, REUTER, and some Italian newspapers, such as LA STAMPA etc., distributed a news item referring to the Hungarian Radio, that allegedly there have been gun shots in Tirana on the afternoon of January 22. As source of information for the aforesaid news they mentioned the correspondent of the Hungarian Radio, Jozsef Orosz, who is in Tirana as guest of the Hungarian Embassy. Asked in Tirana, on the truthfulness of this information, the correspondent of the Hungarian Radio, Orosz stated that this report is not true. The situation in Tirana, he said, is tranquil, there have been no gun stots or any other sign to indicate unrest. The people in the Albanian capital continue normally their work.

Leka I: 'People Would Rise Up if Encouraged'

AU2401092090 Paris AFP in English 0836 GMT 24 Jan 90

[by Claudine Canetti]

[Text] Paris, Jan 24 (AFP)—The pretender to the Albanian throne, Leka I, says it is too late to try any kind of "perestroika" in Albania, since the entire people would rise up if encouraged by the slightest sign of liberalization.

He told Agence France-Presse that he is convinced that Albania's turn will come to conquer freedom by getting rid of its communist regime, as other East European countries have done—and the question is not whether Albania will follow, but rather when.

Leka I is the son of King Zog, who died in 1961. The pretender left Albania with his mother at the age of three days, and now lives in South Africa.

He expressed great caution as to the truth of demonstrations or incidents which the Yugoslav press says have recently occurred in Albania.

He said he had no exact information about such troubles, but expected to get some within a few days or weeks as he tours a number of countries, including France, Britain, and the United States.

Leka I said that he had "given a signal to the Albanian people, to the military, to the Segurimi" (secret police) a month ago by calling for an armed uprising against the Albanian regime.

After that happens, "my first duty will be to give the Albanian people the right to decide on the kind of regime—republic or monarchy—under which they want to live. I have pledged a referendum in this connection".

He was very discreet concerning a scenario that might lead to overthrowing the Ramiz Alia regime. But he pointed out that in Romania, for instance, "the Armed Forces had many contacts with the Soviets, and it is quite conceivable that the Soviets had some influence on them. In Albania, neither the Soviets nor anybody else have contacts with the Army or the Segurimi".

Leka I said he is the only member of the Albanian Diaspora to maintain contacts with "the people, the Army, and the Segurimi" and claimed to have trained armed forces available that, when the time comes, will go and "support" the Albanians. He said they had already carried out some "armed actions", but he declined to give details.

The pretender called himself "nationalistic" above all, saying that he wants a reunified "ethnic Albania", including the Albanians of Kosovo, in Yugoslavia, a province under the control of the Serbian republic.

As for Yugolsavia's other regional groups, he claimed to have developed "very strong links with the Croatians and the Slovenes", which might help him put pressure on Serbia.

He stated that "any government in power in Albania will demand an ethnic Albania. But with me, people at least know that I am going to try dialogue, before plunging into a wild adventure. One might offer a plan for negotiations with Serbia".

He revealed that he might offer Serbia extra-territorial status for places to which Serbs attach special importance, such as the monument commemorating the Battle of Kosovo against the Ottomans, and certain monasteries.

Leka I has meanwhile planned to have some "working contacts" during his stay in France and wants to determine attitudes in countries he visits toward "a free and democratic Albania".

"If I get a negative perception, Ramiz Alia will have a little more time. If it is positive, he'll have less time than he thinks", he declared.

Visiting Italian Senator Reports 'Calm'

PM2401114490 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 19 Jan 90 p 12

[Report on interview with Italian Senator Giulio Orlando upon his return from Albania by Vincenzo Nigro—date and place not given]

[Text] Rome—Christian Democrat Senator Giulio Orlando—one of the few Christian Democrats to share Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti's passion for foreign policy—returned the day before yesterday from a three-day visit to Albania. Invited to Tirana by a cultural

committee, Orlando was able to take a look at the only country in the world that still venerates the political myth of Josef Stalin but that in fact rallies around Stalin's statue chiefly to defend its fragile national independence.

"I had already set the date for the visit some time previously when we heard the first rumors of a state of siege, of clashes, and shootouts nearly throughout the country," the senator said. "Of course I decided to go ahead with the visit, if for no other reason than to go and see in person what was happening. I saw that there was no state of emergency and saw no signs or evidence of clashes in the streets."

[Nigro] So why did Yugoslav television and press agencies report strikes, demonstrations, and shootouts?

[Orlando] I believe that in the emotional wake of the events in the East, Yugoslav local radio stations tried to give maximum emphasis to any signs emerging from Albania. Then Tanjug and the television amplified these rumors. In fact the reports were unfounded: Expectations are often not matched by the facts! Everyone can think what they want about the Tirana regime, but there must be respect for the facts. In any case, I do not believe that the Albanian regime can be compared to Romania's. The situation is entirely different, even though they are both communist regimes.

The Italian Embassy in Tirana reported to Rome that the situation was calm. I myself spent a whole day in Scutari—the city where street demonstrations had been reported. I was interested in the city mainly because it was a center from which religious culture spread. The situation was calm. Then I went to Berati, where the Albanians have begun restoring three very fine Orthodox churches, and there too everything was calm. [Orlando ends]

Orlando paid his first visit to Albania as under secretary of foreign trade in 1972, and then another in 1988. "The impression that I gained from my third visit was twofold. On the one hand, the government's desire to maintain its rigid autonomy. Albania is a country that has distinguished itself by its solitude. There was a time when it maintained relations with the USSR, then with China, but eventually they broke away from everyone. The reasons given for these severances seem plausible to me; that Tirana wanted to jealously defend its independence against Soviet, Chinese, and even Yugoslav interference. For instance, the real reason for the break with Tito was not ideological, rather Tito wanted to include Albania in the Yugoslav federation, while the Albanians of course refused.

"Now, however, I have detected a willingness to establish good-neighborly relations with everyone—especially the Yugoslavs, though there are some very serious problems to resolve, first and foremost, that of Kosovo."

[Nigro] What attitude did you encounter with regard to Italy?

[Orlando] The Albanian Government and even the population display an exceptional interest in Italian life. This is largely thanks to television, which brings to every Albanian home the soccer championships as well as the issues of our political and everyday life. Partly for this reason I found, for instance, a very well-disposed attitude to an agreement on the Adriatic to be signed together with Italy, Yugoslavia, and possibly Greece. Nevertheless, between our two governments there is still the problem of the Popa brothers, the sons of the pharmacist who studied in Naples during the fascist period. I saw them and spoke with them. [Orlando ends]

The Popas, who have been persecuted by the authorities in the past, have asked to be allowed to emigrate. "The problem is," Orlando said, "that Tirana's total defense of its sovereignty does not permit Albania to accept the principle of the right to emigrate, as the rules of the right of asylum and human rights observance require. The Popas are in poor physical and mental health. They are very old and sick and have suffered greatly during the past 4 years of isolation. It is difficult to persuade them to accept an accord with the Albanians that does not permit emigration (if the Popas leave the Italian embassy the Albanian Government promises not to send them back to prison—LA REPUBBLICA editor's note.) But it is very difficult to reconcile the Albanian authorities' claim of total sovereignty with the Popa brothers' demands.

Ninth AWP Central Committee Plenum 23 Jan

AU2401093290 Tirana ATA in English 0731 GMT 24 Jan 90

["Communique on the Convocation of the 9th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, January 24 (ATA)—The Ninth plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA [Albanian Workers Party] convened under the direction of Comrade Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, on January 22-23, 1990.

The proceedings of the plenum started with Comrade Ramiz Alia's speech on the implementation of the tasks the Eighth plenum of the Central Committee laid for the further revolutionization of the party and the entire country, through the promotion of socialist democracy and the increase of the role of the masses.

The plenum of the Central Committee discussed extensively the questions on the agenda and took respective decisions.

The Ninth plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Tirana, January 23, 1990.

Tourism, Foreign Travel Figures Reported

AU1401142390 Tirana ATA in English 0733 GMT 14 Jan 90

["On the Visits of Tourists and Foreign Visitors to Albania and the Albanian Ones Abroad"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, January 14 (ATA)—Under the above title ZERI I POPULLIT carries an article which says:

Our correspondent asked information from the competent organs regarding the visits of tourists and foreign visitors to Albania and the Albanian ones abroad.

With regard to this, he was told that during these years tourism in Albania further developed. During 1989 alone, 14,435 tourists from various countries of the world have come to Albania. The number of tourists from the neighbouring countries has increased in particular. Hence, during 1989 about 3,830 Greek tourists have come to Albania. The number of Yugoslav tourists too has increased. Over the previous year, 633 Yugoslav tourists came to Albania.

Besides tourists, many visitors who have their relatives here have come to Albania just as Albanian citizens have gone to see their relatives in other countries.

Hence, last year 94 persons received visas and went to Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav authorities have refused entry visa for 610 other requests. At the same time, the Yugoslav side has allowed only 157 Yugoslav citizens to visit Albania out of whom 22 from Kosovo.

The exchange of visitors with the other neigbouring country, Greece, has assumed a good development over the recent years. Last year 744 Greek visitors have come to our country. Likewise, 643 Albanian visitors have gone to Greece over the last year.

Besides Yugoslavia and Greece, we have exchanged visitors with other countries as well. During the year that just went out, 1,600 visitors from various countries of the world came to Albania and about 1,400 Albanian visitors went to these countries.

Comparison of Alia Tractor Combine Speech

AU2301155990

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian on 16 January carries on pages one and two the 2,600-word speech by Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers Party Central Committee first secretary, at the Enver Hoxha Tractor Combine in Tirana on 15 January, and is entitled "We Base the Country's All-Round Progress on Our Achievements Up Till Now and The Advantages of Our Social Order." This speech has been compared to the Tirana Domestic Albanian version published in the 18 January East Europe DAILY REPORT, pages one, two, and three, revealing that the two are identical except for the following:

Page one, column one, only paragraph, end of sentence 11 through 12, reads: ...of technological standardization. Without such intervention, it would not have been possible to tackle and reduce the extensive nomenklatura, which was a burden on the combine's production. (supplying indistinct words)

Page three, column one, third full paragraph, last sentence reads: ...the Albanian people alone, in sovereignty over their own destiny, will decide the changes... (rewording, supplying indistinct words)

Page three, column one, last paragraph, first sentence reads: ...have joined, will burst like a soap bubble, for it is... (supplying indistinct words)

BCP, Opposition Hold Roundtable Talks

AU2301195490 Sofia BTA in English 1841 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 23 (BTA)—The ways of implementing a radical reform in the political system was the topic discussed at today's session of the round table held by representatives of the ruling parties—the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) and the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS)—and non-party parliamentarians, with a delegation of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) representing the opposition. By mutual consent representatives of different public organizations have been invited by the separate delegations and also took part in the talks.

Today's session began with an explanation of Prof Zhelyu Zhelev, leader of the delegation of the UDF, who defined as a misunderstanding yesterday's statement in which he was said to have called for distancing Bulgaria from the restructuring in the USSR. Everyone is well aware of what we owe to Gorbachev and his course of reforms. Without Gorbachev's perestroyka the changes in Eastern Europe would have been unimaginable, he said. But we do not want to see the wheels of our Bulgarian perestroyka not grabbing for years like the Soviet one, [as received] because there is the danger of a forcible solution, the country may be diverted from the course of peacefully dismantling totalitarianism and plunged into a civil war and military dictatorship which, we think, the Soviet society is faced with to a great degree. But Gorbachev has a historical excuse for the delay, because he is reforming a state burdened by the former empire which, in the conditions of a rapid democratization, is in danger of disintegration. Bulgaria has no such excuse. In this respect every country in Eastern Europe is in a better position than the Soviet Union. Whatever changes may be made in these countries, no matter how sweeping the political and economic reforms there may be, they are in no danger of state disintegration. The Bulgarian restructuring should be modelled after the East European one, based on the models of the GDR and Czechoslovakia, similar to the models in Poland and Hungary—a model of rapid changes, unlike the Soviet one. Not only have we no excuse to be slow, but we also are morally and politically obliged to make haste. The faster Bulgaria switches to the East European models of restructuring, the more she will help the Soviet Union to make the reforms irreversible, which will result in the complete disintegration of the bastion of totalitarian regimes in Europe and the world, Prof Zhelev pointed out.

Andrey Lukanov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP, backed up this position and underlined once more the vital importance which the relations with the Soviet Union have and will have for the Bulgarian society, the economy of the country and its national security. He insisted on a Bulgarian model of restructuring as part of the radical and rapid revolutionary changes in the East European countries.

In his speech on the main topic of the session Mr Lukanov pointed out that the question of the socialist basis and the socialist prospects of the society is a fundamental one, underlining that this question must not be passed over in Bulgaria, because millions of people are concerned about it. In this context he stated the position of the BCP on the mistakes it has made, pointing out at the same time its achievements in the last 45 years. The BCP makes a total break with the Stalinist model of socialism and its totalitarian methods of rule. It is this pseudosocialism and not socialism in general that underwent a historic collapse. The BCP declares itself to be for democratic and humane socialism which, according to the party, is the only one that can guarantee to the Bulgarian people an optimal combination of economic progress, social justice and adequate spiritual development.

This does not mean that the BCP is not ready to seek points of contact with all forces which declare themselves to be for the establishment of a democratic law-abiding state, no matter what their political persuasions may be, said Mr Lukanov.

He stressed that the Communist Party has a clear programme for the democratization and de-Stalinization of the political system. The changes in the Constitution which the party calls for are directed at the establishment of a modern democratic order, at building up an efficient state system and structures, at strengthening legality and safeguarding civic and human rights, promoting national concord and unity, guaranteeing the territorial integrity and national security of the country. After the repeal of Paragraphs 2 and 3 of Article 1 of the Constitution by which the BCP gave up its monopoly on political power, now an amendment to Paragraph 1 of Article 1 (in which it is said that the People's Republic of Bulgaria is a socialist state headed by the working class) is being drafted.

The BCP considers the forthcoming free democratic parliamentary elections to be particularly important and insists that they should be held the soonest possible to avoid any delay in implementing the democratic reform. Mr Lukanov said that in this connection the present National Assembly should pass some new laws before the elections—laws regulating the position of the political parties, elections, the press and the status of the mass media, rallies and demonstrations, the establishment of citizens' associations.

The leader of the delegation of the BCP confirmed that the party entirely and without reservation supports the dissociation of the political parties from the state and economic power and the delimitation of the legislature, the executive and the judiciary power. The party backs

up the establishment of a supreme body of constitutional control as a guarantee against any relapse to monopolizing power.

Mr Lukanov confirmed the stand the BCP has taken on the depolitization of the system of law courts, the Chief Prosecutor's Office and the Ministry of the Interior, but subscribed to the recently stated opinion of the minister of national defense, who pointed out that there should be a most careful attitude towards this process in the Armed Forces, because they occupy "a special place in the defense of the national security".

The new constitution should be worked out after the free parliamentary elections and discussed at a referendum, Mr Lukanov said. Those who took the floor after him subscribed to this opinion.

The BCP admits the distortions that were made and it is not in its interest to hide anything, but it is against "the nationwide witch-hunting and against offending the lawful self-confidence of thousands of honest Communists," Mr Lukanov said.

Ms Svetla Daskalova, minister of justice and secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party Standing Committee, also insisted on behalf of the BZNS for early elections, as their possible postponement would "destabilize the situation in the country." She associated with most of the formulations stated by the BCP representative, but insisted that it will not be specified in the Constitution that Bulgaria is a socialist state as this will outlaw the political parties with non-Marxist ideology and will hamper the multiparty system.

Ms Daskalova proposed that the future president should not perform other political functions and should be elected by the National Assembly with at least three-thirds [as received] of the votes and for a maximum of two mandates, each of a five-year duration, that the ministers should not be M.P's. She proposed the broad consideration of the issue about replacement of the existing majority election system with some version of the proportional system.

She, as well as all other speakers who spoke after her, backed the stand that in future, organizations of the political parties should not be established at the places of work.

Mr Georgi Spasov, from the UDF, expressed the opinion that all official organizations which are existing now: the Fatherland Front, the Bulgarian trade unions, the Dimitrov Young Communist League, the Women's Committee, the creative unions, are in fact under the guardianship of the BCP and are thus an inseparable part of the totalitarian system. Each of these organizations has its own nomenklatura, part of the nomenklatura class ruling in Bulgaria.

Mr Peter Dertliev, chairman of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, had a similar stance and said that now there is a class of the hirelings in Bulgaria: workers, peasants and intellectuals, and the class of the nomenklatura, which possesses the means of production.

Mr Milan Drenchev, leader of the opposition Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian party, spoke about the Bulgarian society's unreadiness for a normal political life in the conditions of a multiparty system. Due to that, he, as all other representatives of the opposition, insisted for the holding of free parliamentary elections in the autumn.

This, in fact, is the issue on which the opinions of the official side of the "round table" and the opposition differ most clearly. "On about four-fifths of the problems under discussion, however, it is possible to reach a consensus," Mr Zhivko Zhivkov, chairman of the National Council of the Fatherland Front, said.

Hieromonk Khristofor Subev from the Committee for Protection of Religious Rights, Freedom of Conscience and Spiritual Values, spoke for the restoration of the rights of religious people and for a number of changes in the existing law on denominations. He, like other speakers, insisted on priority for agriculture, the light industry and economic tourism in the country's socio-economic development.

Ms Nora Ananieva from the Provisional Committee for Founding of a Democratic Women's Union, insisted for true emancipation of women and accused Zhivkov's totalitarian regime for destroying in fact the movement of the Bulgarian women.

Mr Rosen Karadimov, first secretary of the Dimitrov Young Communist League (DKMS), said that measures have already been undertaken for eliminating part of the league's structure which had been part of the totalitarianism. In the DKMS 60 per cent of the employees in the apparatus have been dismissed, and the nomenklatura has been removed as a principle. This organization has declared its separation from the BCP and has adopted measures for depolitization of the children's organization "Septemvriyche."

Progress of Talks Analyzed

AU2401110090 Sofia BTA in English 0955 GMT 24 Jan 90

["Everybody at the 'Roundtable' Is For a Multiparty Parliament System"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 24 (BTA)—The "roundtable" or the negotiations between the ruling parties and the Union of the Democratic Forces [UDF] began yesterday their discussion in essence on the political system. This happened after a long prolonging of procedural specifications, which according to the oppositional UDF is due to the Communist leaders unwillingness to engage themselves before the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Congress with concrete agreements. The common thing about all participants is their wish for a peaceful and

prompt dismantling of the totalitarian system. As the spokesmen of the delegations said, the "roundtable" has started well.

The first issue which differentiated the opinions, was whether Bulgaria should be a socialist state. The BCP delegation, which insisted about that, was backed by the Fatherland Front and the committee of the resistance movement, who are "sitting" on "the same" side of the table.

There were also differences about the understanding and ?responsibility of the ruling party since 1944. While most of the oppositional representatives place the accent on the damages done by the totalitarian system, the leaders of the BCP delegation insist that there must not be a sign of equality between socialism and totalitarianism.

All participants declared themselves for a multi-party parliament system. The issue about which there were disputes is on when should the free democratic elections be held. The ruling parties demand that they should take place in May, while the opposition—in autumn, so as there would be time for a thorough preelection campaign.

The BCP and the BZNS [Bulgarian Agrarian National Union] assume that a coalition government might be founded even before the elections. Such proposal was made on behalf of the Independent Trade Unions, but has not so far been commented by the oppositional UDF.

Both the ruling party and the opposition stand for a prompt approach of this country to Europe, but the BCP delegation insists that this should not be done at the expense of a differentiation from the USSR.

The discussion about the political system started with stating of the opinions of the delegation leaders: Andrey Lukanov, of the BCP, Svetla Daskalova, of the BZNS and Zhelyu Zhelev of the UDF. Representatives of social organizations as the Independent Trade Unions, the Fatherland Front, and the Young Communist League, also took the floor. Their inclusion in the negotiations was a result of a compromise between the ruling circles and the opposition, which agreed that they can participate, but only in the frames of the BCP and the BZNS delegation. Thus, yet from the first round which should end in mid-February, the "roundtable" turned into a national one.

Talks To Resume 29 Jan

AU2301222690 Sofia BTA in English 2119 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 23 (BTA)—It was agreed at the end of the session that negotiations will continue on Monday, January 29, with discussions on the same topic. The spokesmen of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], the BZNS [Bulgarian National Agrarian Union] and the UDF [Union of Democratic Forces] stated that negotiations "have started well."

The opposition made a declaration in which it insists that the Parliament will not adopt the draft laws about the public associations and the parades and rallies, which, according to the UDF are not democratic enough.

Representatives of the Green Party made a number of proposals for urgent changes in the Constitution aimed at providing guarantees against the monopoly of a single party and ideology, for equality of the citizens, as well as of the types of ownership. It was also proposed that the National Assembly will begin to adopt the budget in items. A representative of the Parliamentary Commission for Changes in the Constitution said that most of the ideas stated by the Green Party representatives are under consideration in the draft for changes of the major law, which is to be published for discussion.

In relation with the number of accusations against the State Security and the frequent proposals for its dismissal and the depoliticization of the Ministry of Internal Affairs bodies, Mr A. Semerdzhiev, the internal affairs minister, will be invited to "the round table" to explain his positions.

Representatives of the Committee for Protection of National Interests and of the delegation of the official authorities demanded that the archives be made known to the public. This was in relation to his accusations against the former regime that "the national virtues have been sacrificed for socialist internationalism."

Elka Konstantinova, chairman of the Radical Democratic Party, dedicated her statement to "the anticultural policy of the totalitarian regime" and its consequences for the Bulgarian intellectual life. This includes the detachment from the Bulgarian traditions and from European cultural life. Prof Elka Konstantinova, as well as other speakers, insisted on de-ideologization of culture and science, for removal of the BCP guardianship over the cultural institutions and organizations.

The first round of "the round table," which the participants are now calling national, will end in mid-February by agreement.

Republicans on Roundtable

AU2401110490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] We received a declaration from the Bulgarian Republican Party, which reads:

The mass media report widely on the roundtable dialogue that is taking place in Sofia. This is a positive and commendable fact. Analyzing the developments at the roundtable, the Republican Party, which is an opposition party, feels itself obliged to declare the following:

—The Bulgarian Republican Party expresses its respect for those who peacefully changed the course of our country's political leadership and directed it toward the democratic path;

—It expresses respect for all those who are participating in the roundtable and make efforts to give a real essence and direction to the aspirations of the Bulgarian people toward a new course of future development;

—It expresses disagreement with the declaration made at the roundtable that all political forces in Bulgaria are represented at the talks. The Bulgarian Republican Party, which informed the official authorities that it was founded and began political activity, has not received an invitation to take part in the roundtable. We think that thus the principles of goodwill, an open and honest dialogue, and equality in representing all political forces in the country are not being observed.

—Under these conditions, we cannot accept the assurance that this is a nationwide dialogue and that the decisions that will be adopted will reflect the expectations and hopes of all Bulgarian citizens.

The declaration of the Bulgarian Republican Party points out the necessity of inviting all political parties, organizations, and movements that have been founded so far, that are striving to resolve the national problems by peaceful means.

18 Jan Roundtable Report

AU2301135090 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Jan 90 pp 1, 4

[Report by Vasil Popov and Dilyan Todorov: "At 'Roundtable'—For Second Time Procedural Issues"]

[Excerpts] Whether we want to or not, we must avoid the usual cliche at the beginning of a report. The roundtable began without allowing us to even see what the Sixth Hall of the People's Palace of Culture looks like. Joking between ourselves, we looked for any indications of what was to happen in the next 2 hours. [passage omitted]

After the intermission, Zhelyu Zhelev announced the decision of the Union of the Democratic Forces to interrupt the talks until Monday, 22 January, at 1400 [1200 GMT], saying that before then the joint commission must finally resolve the issues of the premises and providing information during the roundtable talks. He also stated that if the issue about the Bulgarian Radio and Television is not categorically resolved, the roundtable could fail completely. There is a preliminary agreement, and it must be observed. Andrey Lukanov has requested the Union of the Democratic Forces not to return things to the state they were in before 10 November by issuing a statement to the effect that everything can be resolved "from the top" by the delegations of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union. Zhelyu Zhelev insisted that the editing of the TV reports be done with the participation of representatives of both sides because this is a political dispute and struggle, and the position of the viewers will be much affected by the image that is presented of the discussions. The issue should be taken out of the hands of Filip Bokov [chairman of the Committee of Bulgarian Television and Radio] and resolved by the two delegations alone. [passage omitted]

Andrey Lukanov has proposed that people refrain from speculating about the concept of the "totalitarian state" and expressed the opinion that the BCP delegation at the roundtable also support the breaking down of the totalitarian system. We are facing elections, he said. Let us await the people's will, and only afterward speak on behalf of the people. Lyubomir Sobadzhiev protested these words, saying that he had come in the name of the people, and until somebody convinced him that this was not true, he would not believe that he does not represent the people. Petur Beron expressed regret over the fact that the roundtable work again will be postponed, because all participants are very busy and there is no time to waste. Emil Koshlukov expressed the view that there was enough time to resolve the technical issues, and that an information blackout exists. [passage omitted]

Andrey Lukanov, leader of the BCP delegation, found about 25 minutes for a talk with journalists. In response to a RABOTNICHESKO DELO question about what was the most difficult element of the talks, he said:

"I do not think that there were any difficult elements. The conversation was rather calm and civilized. Unfortunately, we could not begin the discussion according to the agenda. However, I think that the talks that were conducted were beneficial for the establishment of the climate that is necessary for our meetings. We all agreed that mutual understanding, tolerance, and a civilized attitude are necessary at the talks. Despite the fact that we did not start the essential discussion, the day was not lost."

The issue of the abnormal conditions for the work of the journalists, confirmed during the news conference itself, was raised at the news conference. We would like to inform readers that if they notice certain contradictions between our report and the report carried by the "In The World" program of the Bulgarian Television, this could be due to the fact that the Bulgarian Television crew did not attend the news conference, and the television carried instead statements of the delegations' leaders given to TV reporters.

Sofia Teachers Threaten Strike

AU2301221890 Sofia BTA in English 2049 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 23 (BTA)—The teachers from the capital city will go on strike if their demands are not met by the end of this month. They are formulated in a declaration to the National Assembly, adopted today by

representatives from 160 schools in this city. The declaration places the issue of immediate resignations of the Ministry of National Education and the Union of the Bulgarian Teachers' leaderships; about the teachers' salaries which must be 20 per cent higher than the average working salary in this country, in compliance with the inflation index; about holding "a round table" on issues of education with the participation of the teachers' delegation and the Commission on Intellectual Development at the National Assembly.

The teachers here held their together with their colleagues in Ruse and from the Teachers' Section of the Podkrepa Independent Labour Federation, which include the introduction of the mandate principle and election of the leading personnel in education at all levels with alleviated conditions for pensioning of teachers [sentence as received].

As many as 4,000 teachers and workers in the sphere of education in Ruse went on strike on January 12. They have also declared readiness to hold a strike by the end of January.

To be able to avoid the strike of the Teachers' Section, Podkrepa proposed that the demands which require longer time for their solving be dropped for the time being.

'Bulgarians Abroad Committee' Declare Strike

AU2301223190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Excerpt] The collective of the Bulgarians Abroad Committee and the journal RODOLYUBIE announces an indefinite strike starting tomorrow, 24 January, that may turn into a hunger strike if the following demands are not met:

The state organ, the Foreign Policy Commission of the National Assembly, should investigate in detail all the illegal actions and manipulations on the part of Pavel Matev, the committee's chairman, and [words indistinct] Mariya Yordanova, in connection with the illegal convening of the Board of Trustees, and should issue an announcement without delay on the appropriate decisions it has adopted.

The election of the new leadership of the Bulgarians Abroad Committee, which has been grossly manipulated by Pavel Matev and Mariya Yordanova, should be declared illegal.

Proceedings should immediately be started for the dismissal of Mariya Yordanova.

The dissolution should be announced of the elected Board of Trustees, which has been formed by a typically [word indistinct] procedure.

The commission should clearly state its view concerning the vote of no confidence in Pavel Matev, and also concerning the fact that he has failed for almost one month to appear at work, without giving any reason, and recommend that he be relieved of his post. [passage omitted]

Matev Wins Support

AU2301221790 Sofia BTA in English 1949 GMT 23 Jon 90

["Bulgarians Abroad Back Their Chairman in Sofia"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 23 (BTA)—The end of last week brought the news about the vote of non-confidence given by employees of the Committee of Bulgarians Abroad in Pavel Matev, the organization's chairman. Things seemed as if predetermined and at today's session of the Board of Trustees, whose members are compatriots, citizens of different states, had only to confirm this state.

The opinion of the committee's employees turned out to be in contradiction with the regulations for its activities. Those who were dissatisfied had to understand that it was not them, but solely the Board of Trustees, elected by the Convention of the Bulgarians Living Abroad which is in its right to give a vote of confidence or non-confidence to its chairman. And this was made in a most categorical way: A vote of confidence was given unanimously to Pavel Matev.

Other organizational changes followed. The operative leadership of the committee dismissed its deputy chairmen, Bistra Avramova and Marin Bangiev, as well as the General Secretary Andrey Trunski. Boris Chakurov, first deputy editor in chief of ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME, was appointed deputy-chairman.

A number of the Board of Trustee's members were relieved and new ones were co-opted with a deliberative vote till the next Convention of the Bulgarians Living Abroad.

At the session the ideas about the future activity of the committee were discussed, on which the economic crisis in Bulgaria will have an impact. Pavel Matev spoke about the possible efficiency of the setting up of human rights commissions, on the issues of the economic and techno-scientific cooperation and on problems of tourism.

Interesting is the fact that the committee activity includes the newly founded Associations of the Bulgarians from Banat and Bessarabia.

Independent Printers Union Cancels Strike

AU2301225690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] The Coordinating Council for the Creation of the Independent Printers Union, as a result of reaching an agreement, calls off the warning strike arranged for tomorrow, 24 January.

At the same time, the council declares that if the responsible representative of the government fails before 29 January to give sure guarantees and a precise date on which the submitted demands will be met, on 30 January a nationwide 24-hour strike of the printing workers will take place.

Voters Polled on Party Preferences

AU2301211690 Sofia BTA in English 2045 GMT 23 Jan 90

["The BCP Enjoys Advance Among the Voters"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 23 (BTA)—If elections were to take place now, the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] will win 30.2 per cent of the voters. This is seen in the results from the public opinion survey held by teams of the Institute of Sociology at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

13.6 Per cent (2,675 people aged between 16 and 69) will vote for the Union of Democratic Forces, which unites 12 parties.

The Bulgarian Agrarian Party will have 8.7 per cent of the voters, while the opposition Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party—2.5 per cent of those polled. Four per cent have said that they will vote for candidates of the All-Nation Committee for Protection of National Interests, founded at the beginning of January during the disturbances in relation to the ethnic crisis.

Perhaps during the future elections the opposition could also count on the voices of those who have now stated their preferences for the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party—2.2 per cent, and the Party of the Greens—2.1 per cent.

24 per cent of those polled have said that their choice will depend on the candidates' personal characteristics and not on their belonging to one political party or another.

5.2 per cent have said that they will not vote at all, while 3.3 per cent that they would not vote for any of the parties indicated above. 4.1 per cent refused to answer the question.

Lawyer Explains Sentences Zhivkov Faces

AU2301191790 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No. 4, 22 Jan 90 p 3

[Article by POGLED legal consultant Dimitur Popov: "It is said...that Todor Zhivkov faces trial"]

[Text] As BTA announced, the Chief Prosecutor's Office has received materials from the commission examining the distortions and violations committed in connection with the activity of Todor Zhivkov. The materials contain evidence of the following crimes:

1. Incitement of hostility and hatred between nationalities. The act constitutes a crime under Article 162, Paragraph 1 of the Penal Code, which prescribes a penalty of up to 3 years imprisonment and public censure.

2. Acquisition without good grounds of public property in particularly large amounts. The appropriation of such property in particularly large amounts and in particularly serious cases is a crime under Article 203 of the Penal Code, which prescribes as penalties imprisonment for a period between 10 and 30 years, confiscation of the entire amount or part of the property, loss of the right to hold certain state or public posts, and loss of the right of residence in a specific city.

3. Especially serious cases of abuse of one's official position. The act should be classified as a crime under Article 282, Paragraph 3 of the Penal Code, for which the prescribed penalty is imprisonment for a period of from 3 to 10 years and loss of the right to occupy certain state or public posts.

Further details and a more precise appraisal may be announced after the decree of the Chief Prosecutor's Office that details the penal charges is published.

The investigation will be conducted by the Chief Prosecutor's Officer of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Normal Work Resumes at Kozloduy Nuclear Plant

AU2401110690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Work has resumed at Generating Unit No. 5 of the Kozloduy Nuclear Plant. Last night it was activated and joined the country's power supply system. At 1000 [0800 GMT], the unit reached 80 percent of its 1,000-megawatt reactor capacity.

Case of Wounded Photographer Viewed

AU2401090490 Sofia BTA in English 0802 GMT 24 Jan 90

["Wounded Photographer, Openness 10 Months Later"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 24 (BTA)—Firing almost point blank two policemen knocked down an opponent of Zhivkov's regime, who was noticed to write the slogan "Todor Beriya Zhivkov" on a central Sofia boulevard wall. For ten months this case has been disturbing public opinion here, but for the first time now it was discussed at the Ministry of Internal Affairs press conference.

According to the official version, Simon Varsano has run after an attempt was made to stop him for an identification check and has "resisted physically" the Internal Affairs Ministry officers "for which reason they used weapons and wounded him". The Military Prosecutor's Office which investigated the case found that the actions had been in conformity with the law.

The victim Varsano, a professional photographer, produced details about the case. At a press conference he said that he had been chased by four militiamen, who had fired in the air and warned him to stop. He had been overtaken some thirty meters away from the "place of crime". Then two of the militiamen fired at him almost point blank. Both his legs were wounded, he was arrested and sent to the Ministry of Internal Affairs hospital in Sofia.

The inquiry against him was terminated about a month later. Mr Velichkov, the examining magistrate, taking part in the press conference said that he "had accused" Varsano in "hooliganism" so as to avoid his being accused in a political crime.

Today the writing of political slogans is not a crime, as during the last two months the Penal Code had been changed. But in March, 1989 the examining magistrate had been put to strong pressure from the Prosecutor's Office and from his bosses at the Ministry of Internal Affairs. According to Velichkov he did not succumb to the pressure due to humanitarian reasons.

Simon Varsano also spoke well about Velichkov but his opinion about the militiamen who wounded him was different. After November 10, 1989 Varsano lodged a complaint for reopening an inquiry against them. No action was, however, taken on his appeal, and on January 8 this year, Varsano was informed writtenly that "there are no reasons for a change in the Prosecutor's Office stand."

The exculpation of the two militiamen is based on the Law on the People's Militia, according to which they have the right to use weapons "as a final measure, for detention of a person, who has committed a crime of great social danger, who after being asked does not give up, does not come out of the place where he is hiding or offers armed resistance."

Belchev Discusses Financial Policy

AU1601083590 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 12 Jan 90 pp 1,3

[Interview with Belcho Belchev, finance minister and member of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo, by Valeri Vasev; date and place not given—"A Basis for the Future"]

[Text] [Vasev] Comrade Belchev, before starting with our interview, let us clarify some things. We are not interviewing you so much in your capacity as Politburo member of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee, but rather in your capacity as finance minister, which is one of the most important ministries for the changes in our society. It would be interesting for our readers to learn about your own general political evaluation of the events resulting from 10 November 1989, and about the atmosphere within the Politburo reflecting the new relations within the party and within its leading organs.

[Belchev] I hope that there is no longer any doubt about the importance of 10 November for the BCP. This was not the usual replacement of a party leadership by another, but the result of a living experience that induced us to adopt a new party program for the renewal of socialism and for a full democratization of social relations, which prompted us to search for a new path in our country's further development. The sincere evaluation of the state of society, the first steps in overcoming the results of the totalitarian party regime, and the broad discussion under way summed up the most diversified opinions and views, and helped the party in better understanding its own role in the process of social renewal. The elimination of the ruling party's rights established by the Constitution, the adoption and support of the idea for the separation of power, the platform for the real establishment of a law-governed state—all these things place the party's total activity on an entirely new basis.

Naturally, the forthcoming extraordinary BCP Congress should provide the most comprehensive and unmistakable clarification of the party's role and essence. As to the new relations within the party and within its leading organs, they are already visible. The free discussions, the numerous dialogues with different political and social forces, the nationwide consensus on the most important nationwide issues, which stand above the party, unmistakably confirmed the existence of such new relations.

[Vasev] The general issue today is how to overcome the crisis in which our society is currently embroiled. Everyone is clearly aware of the fact that the economy is a very strong element of inertia and that miracles cannot happen in the economic sector, that it is impossible to achieve results within mere days or months. The measures announced in the declaration adopted by the BCP Central Committee at its December Plenum are well known. Nevertheless, the economic reform presupposes a reform in man's consciousness. What are the basic trends for stopping the alienation from property and for the acceptance of property by the people as its own at a later stage?

[Belchev] It is unnecessary to repeat things we have already said. Both at the BCP Central Committee Plenum and in a television interview, I pointed out, on behalf of the Ministry of Finance, not only the causes of the difficult economic situation, but also certain views on how to overcome this current state of affairs. We are in the process of a fundamental analysis; we are reassessing the processes in order to understand those basic elements that should be restructured and innovated to find new paths for the future. For example, we are currently investigating those expenditures that might be avoided. We envision, by the end of the current financial period of this year, reducing such expenditures by 1 billion leva from the budget means. Additionally, they should be long-term reductions, creating prerequisites for the urgently required thriftiness.

This is by no means easy, because you can imagine how difficult it is to collect million after million of various expenditure items. The more so, since the expenditures for the promised increase of health workers are expected to be a heavy burden, and the same applies to the required increase in the number of teachers, and certain other categories of workers, to the increase of low pensions, and others.

Regarding the specific issue of alienation from property, it should be considered under numerous aspects. So far, according to the former rules of dogmatism and totalitarian decisions, ownership was considered an everlasting asset. This interpretation should no longer be valid. Ownership under all its forms—state, cooperative, personal, or private ownership—should be equally treated by the law. The same applies to the new forms of management—the piecework system, the land-lease system, the company-based organization—they should all enjoy equal support. This can be implemented through financial regulators, or through economic interests, provided that everyone should understand one thing: Namely, that final results are the criteria for the approach to ownership, hence the requirement for personal initiative and involvement in the final results produced by individual production units.

We should point out the taxation policy in the market mechanism as well. Considerable changes are not expected for 1990 in this respect. We should not further destabilize our already shaken economy by changes in the taxation policy. We should gradually change everything according to rules—on the basis of Decree No. 56, and other normative documents. Radical changes, however, are impossible, because we might commit mistakes again, and people are already tired of the past economic "guesswork." The taxation and financial regulators should be applied at this stage to consolidate the interests of enterprises and companies, as a whole, and also of the individual citizen. The taxation system should be closely linked to objective economic laws. In the context of our future plans, this system should assume a really economic nature. The current tax exemptions are made out of sheer consideration for the poor state of our economy, rather than on the basis of initiative and final results, as it is required by the rules of market economy. Thus, along with the price policy, the approach to ownership should also gradually change.

[Vasev] Let us ask you a question about our government's domestic and foreign debts. The debates about their size, about our deficit in the balance of payments, and about the disproportions in our economy, which caused some of the tension in the country's payment ability—all these things provide enough material for several scientific papers—however, the interest of our society is now focused on the prospects of halting the increase of debts, on preventing new loans, and on the repayment of all these debts. Could you describe some specific tasks of the Ministry of Finance in connection with the sensible spending of our foreign exchange resources, and the most urgent current measures in connection with stabilizing our balance of payments?

[Belchev] It is an already well-known fact that our domestic and foreign debts amount to more than 10 billion currency leva. It is evident that debts of such size can hardly be eliminated by the wave of a magic wand. Naturally, our society is justified to ask what can be done in this difficult situation. We are facing the question of whether we should halt our domestic and foreign debts, or whether we should engage in some new investments, namely, whether we should attract new capital for the country's economic stabilization. It is evident that the processes should be mixed, namely pursued in both directions, and that we should prevent the level of our debts from increasing, despite the fact that many specialists propose a postponement of our payments. Perhaps we should try to do so, but only after a thorough analysis of the situation, only after consulting the public, so that we will not reach a situation in which interests would considerably increase, making back payments even more difficult. We are rather inclined to attract foreign capital and to organize joint enterprises and companies, although this decision is still not definite. Such loans would effectively be invested in production and produce permanent results. This is our idea of reviving certain economic branches, such as the food industry and light industry, as a whole, because this is the area where we caused the most crucial shortcomings. We are all aware that the shortage of certain first-priority goods on our market have caused the almost fatal tension in our society.

[Vasev] A plan and budget for the forthcoming year have been adopted for the first time in years at the National Assembly December session. Will a budget be compiled on the basis of items related to revenues and expenditures? How would you sum up the situation in this respect; can the expenditures of the defense budget be described as reasonable?

[Belchev] With regard to compiling the country's plan and budget for 1990, we are working according to methods totally different from those of the recent past. Our idea is that the budget and plan should be optimally realistic and objective and that they should reflect the whole truth about the country's economic and financial situation. Unlike the situation in recent years, when we submitted budgets and plans with approximate, general figures on revenues and expenditures to the National Assembly, we shall submit a report reflecting the actual, existing situation on all items to the March session of the National Assembly, and will thus provide an opportunity for the deputies to discuss and further develop the issues related to the budget and plan. This is how part of the problems related to subsidized enterprises and economic branches should be resolved. Perhaps our proposals on cutting down certain expenditures, such as those related to public organizations, to certain types of services and companies, for example, would thus find

the support of parliament. We are expected to provide full information on every item, so that the most feasible decisions may be adopted.

It is fair to say, at this point, that the Ministry of National Defense has always shown understanding for our budget difficulties. This applies to the situation of 1990, in particular. We are approaching a reduction of certain military expenditures, which really goes to the credit of the defense ministry's leadership. Expenditures are being "restricted" ["svivane"], and this applies even to those of priority importance. The resources that are considered related to the privileges of the military personnel are also subject to reductions, despite the prevailing opinion that they are justified. It is difficult to define the precise amount of reductions in the military budget, but the National Assembly Session should take care of further specifying the relevant figures.

[Vasev] Let us deal with certain economic forms of the market mechanism. Everyone is now expecting its introduction. Is our confidence justified that the introduction of such mechanisms shall not violate the basic laws of prices and price setting? Can you describe the role of the Ministry of Finance in controlling and assisting this complicated process?

[Belchev] Regarding this question, we think that the role of the Ministry of Finance consists of contributing to correct price setting under the conditions of the market mechanism. I would like to point out an objective example related to Western economy, where only market conditions are valid. Let us assume that one commodity is placed on the market at the price of 10 leva, instead of 5 leva. If the taxes progressively increase to such an extent that profits are drastically reduced, the producer prefers to stick to the price that brings him the highest profit. This method is also expected to be applied in our country. The taxation policy is the lever that can be skillfully used in settling mutual relations between producers and consumers. The mechanism applies to profits everywhere and if you have visited a store in a capitalist country, you could not fail to notice that one and the same article may coast 3.95 leva, or 3.99 leva, and not the round figure of 4 leva. This is one of the acting market mechanisms. It is a question of interests.

Many people are afraid of the market mechanism, considering the conditions prevailing in Poland, Hungary, and other countries. There is no reason for such concern because tax authorities are a centralized state institution all over the world, and in certain countries, even a militarized institution. Control is achieved in this manner and this control is effective. It controls arbitrary price setting and prevents chaotic market conditions. It is not accidental that the United States is proud of having the most highly developed tax culture, meaning that people are paying their taxes according to law.

We should also say a few words about competition, which is an important incentive for economic development and market conditions. The greater the number of producers, the more prices shall differ. In this manner the market determines which producer is effective and cheap, and at the same time, who is expected to loose. We should not be afraid of competition, either.

[Vasev] I would like to ask you a topical question. Social tension is observed among various strata of our population. The possibility of a wave of strikes, in which, along with social and political claims, demands for wage increases and for an increase in salaries for various categories of working people should not be excluded. Are you ready to face this situation and do reasonable means exist to avert an economic chaos? Do resources exist for a financial balancing of interests?

[Belchev] It is very difficult to resolve these problems at the same level. The budget is sufficiently burdened by debts and other problems, and has no reserves for coping with additional attacks. Some people presume that there is no great harm in stopping work for one or two days; they cite examples of compulsory work stoppages, caused by shortages of raw materials or power supply. Trying to achieve political and economic goals through compulsory measures causes great losses, indeed. The example of other countries, and also the recent strike events in our country showed that problems can be resolved in a democratic and mutually advantageous manner at the negotiating table. This is how urgent problems should be resolved, in our opinion; namely, through a constructive dialogue based on mutual commitments. We are not against strikes. However, we should search for compromises in a sensible manner to the benefit of our country's future. We support the Japanese method of strikes, namely symbolic strikes. The results of this method are more advantageous for both sides.

The time has come for the Bulgarian citizen to learn how to think and act on the basis of economic criteria, as people are doing all over the world. He should learn how to spend his means with common sense, and apply a political and statesman-like approach for the sake of his more prosperous life in the future. In giving full glasnost to the budget situation, we hope to establish a more stable balance between individual and social interests. The reserves are provided by production itself, because the more we produce, the more we shall consume. We should no longer stick to the present methods of merely trying to reduce expenditures—we should try to promote the other side as well—namely to increase revenues.

[Vasev] If I may ask you a somewhat unusual question—so far we have no information on the existence of Bulgarian millionaires. I understand that the secret of bank accounts is impenetrable. Nevertheless, I would like to comment on a well-known article published by the SOCIETY AND LAW Journal whose author, Yotso Yotosov, also made a statement on television in which he tried to clarify this problem. In this connection, it was announced that the interest percentage shall be increased to 10-15 percent by the State Savings Bank, which reflects the real growth of the inflation processes in our

country. Does this mean that we are on the way toward witnessing the establishment of a system under which people are living on capital interests, without being engaged in socially useful labor, and under which "black money" is legalized.

[Belchev] As to the facts and materials used by Yotso Yotsov in his article and television program, we saw that his statements were not based on serious facts. Opportunities are now being investigated for obtaining real information, not only about bank accounts within our country, but also about the bank accounts of certain individuals in foreign countries. As regards the rumors on $20 billion reported by ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME, they are not based on serious facts, either. We have already submitted requests to Swiss banks on this subject, but, as we know, the answer should be provided by government circles of that country, only under the conditions that people subject to legal investigation for crimes that are recognized as such in Switzerland, are involved. As a financial and economic specialist, I am convinced that financial-currency transactions of that size are improbable. It is simply impossible to obtain so much money from anywhere. Bulgaria is incapable of "producing" such an amount. Nevertheless, we should pursue the case to the end.

Swiss banks would not be Swiss banks and live up to their reputation if they provided information on their bank account clients. This also applies to our own bank. The question of Bulgarian millionaires is a favorite subject of gossip today. Yotso Yotosov relies solely on Professor Mincho Pamukchiev's information, which is not serious. Why is that so? For the simple reason that our banking system is not sufficiently developed, as a result of which one individual is entitled to only one savings account. In the second place, the secret of bank accounts is inviolable and may not be violated without a valid reason. It is not in the spirit of democracy and individual human rights to do so. Without proof of criminal offenses, one cannot investigate and reveal bank accounts on a mass scale. This would disturb all clients of the State Savings Bank. Nevertheless, certain investigations have been conducted under the present circumstances. The date in question revealed that only in 18 cases have amounts exceeding 100,000 leva been deposited. This does not mean that even higher amounts could not be owned on the bases of several, different accounts.

However, if we base our economy on the market mechanism, we cannot prevent some people from earning more money in the future on account of their skill and initiative. Naturally, the state should be careful not to admit social discriminations between high and low incomes. Sweden has actually set a positive example in this respect in connection with the high taxation for high incomes, thus compensating for the difference between various categories of working people. We should not proceed along the path of restrictions and leveling, either. We are not in favor of disharmony. However, we should not settle this problem through administrative methods, as in the past, but rather through economic regulators.

As to unearned incomes based on capital, this is possible on the basis of the increase of interest percentages applied by the State Savings Bank. Even in the case of the aforementioned 18 persons, each of them owning 100,000 leva would mean an annual profit of 10,000 leva on the basis of 10 percent interests. What, if the interest amounts to 15 percent? And what happens if the capital amounts to 1 million leva? It is evident that a certain kind of money market is required. This does not apply to "black money," however. Such cases are the concern of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Perhaps the bank should develop special conditions for interests on large amounts. This is a matter for the future. For the time being, 1 percent is a minimal asset for small deposits and does not cover the inflation processes. It is evident that such questions should be the focus of the ministry's future work. It is a well-known fact that the ministry is practically being newly organized, and many problems are facing us. In our opinion, everything should be done with total openness, and the public should be always informed on our activities.

[Vasev] Thank you for your kindness toward NARODNA ARMIYA and its readers.

REFORMA Bulletin Appears 26 Dec

AU1101214490 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Jan 90 p 2

[Text] On 26 December 1989, the first issue of the REFORMA information bulletin [informatsionen list] was published; it is the organ of the "Reform" Ideological-Political Circle. This circle was established by a group of rank-and-file Communists at the Higher Institute of Mining and Geology on 18 December 1989, and its aim is to strive in the conditions of the existing apparatus-nomenklatura structure to give glasnost to previously unpublicized ideas and alternatives. The most immediate goal that the circle has set for itself is to transform the party from a party of the nomenklatura into a party without a nomenklatura.

New Interior Minister Discusses 'Depolitization'

AU0501182790 Sofia BTA in English 1739 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 5 (BTA)—In Bulgaria actions like those of the secret service in Romania have never been possible nor will they be possible in the future. There have never been such units and bunkers with weapons here, stated Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev, who was appointed minister of the interior a week ago.

In an interview given to the Bulgarian Television the 65-year-old general, who for 23 years was first deputy minister of defence and head of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army, announced that in the near

future the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs would declare its position on the depolitization of the security bodies. On the whole this position will answer the demands made by the public, he said.

Demands for the depolitization of the Army, the security bodies, the courts and the Public Prosecutor's Office have been made at almost all rallies in the country in the last two months.

General Semerdzhiev also said that in the past, at the time of Todor Zhivkov's totalitarian regime, it was decided to form armed military workers' groups, but the decision has never been implemented.

He explained that there are no units and no armed detachments in the country performing tasks which are contrary to the Constitution and law.

General Semerdzhiev said that now within the system of the Ministry of Internal Affairs there is only one unit of the "red berets" special troops for fighting terrorism. Several similar subsidiary units have been recently transferred to the Army at the insistence of Mr Petur Mladenov, president of the State Council. The protective functions assigned to the Ministry of Internal Affairs and its structures require to provide the people with reliable protection against possible acts of terrorism. The law enforcement units must guarantee public peace, defend the young democracy and fight any anti-constitutional actions and organized criminality, the interior minister said.

In connection with the tension in the country created by the decisions of the former regime to rename the Bulgarian citizens of Muslim origin, a decision overridden by the decision of the State Council and the government of December 29, 1989, which evoked a strong reaction in part of the population, General Semerdzhiev said that the mission of the Interior Ministry units in this situation is similar to that of the United Nations peacekeeping forces. The problem is complicated and its solution will be painful. To avoid violence is one of the most important components of the new doctrine of the Ministry of Internal Affairs which is now being worked out. It is our mission now to promote the dialogue between the two confronting groups of the nation, he said.

General Semerdzhiev stated that some parts of the system of the former totalitarian regime have not been completely eliminated yet. It is the totalitarian regime that has left the grave heritage of the ethnical problem to the present government.

The interior minister pointed out that if the activity of private detectives in Bulgaria is allowed by passing a respective bill, the ministry will cooperate with the people who would like to enter this profession.

Government, Firms Talk About Consumer Supplies

AU0501182990 Sofia BTA in English 1721 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 5 (BTA)—The Ministry of Industry and Technologies will focus its efforts this year on the satisfaction of the market's demands of consumer goods and services and on the restructuring of the industry with the view to its adaptation to the requirements of the world markets. At today's meeting of the government with the directors of the companies in the system of the Ministry of Industry and Technologies it was announced that the import of the necessary raw materials and feedstock for the normal functioning of the enterprises has been approved.

It was reported that despite the difficulties in 1989 the companies of this branch have produced 11 per cent more consumer products compared to 1988. Along with that the results of the export are not satisfactory, as well as of the production of certain important products.

Turkish Official Discusses Bilateral Relations

AU2301195090 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Jan 90 p 6

[Stefan Solakov report from Ankara: "Both Old and New"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] For about 2 weeks I followed political and social life in Turkey from close at hand and compared it with my impressions from several years ago. The amazing thing, although one might also have naturally expected it, was that facts and events coincided with those characteristic of the country 10 years or so ago. All the same, there had to be something new, I kept repeating to myself as I scanned the columns of the newspapers printed here in bright colors. Gradually, I began to discover what it was. It consisted of certain suggestions of changes in Turkish foreign policy. Well-known specialists in this field were insisting on greater flexibility in applying the classical model of Turkish diplomacy followed to date, which was based on strictly maintaining the country's national interests, irrespective of any temporary or long-term advantages that might be offered in return for breaking this principle. [passage omitted]

Prompted by the interest aroused in me by these reports in the Turkish press, I went to meet Mr Berhan Ekindci, chief of the Department for Bilateral Relations with East European Countries at the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. My many years of working as a journalist in Turkey had left me with pleasant impressions of my contacts with top officials from Turkish diplomacy, and I was not disappointed on this occasion either.

In his opinion, Turkey is following the changes taking place in Eastern Europe with real interest and, what is more, expresses feelings of sympathy with the democratic transformations in the socialist countries. One of

the chief tasks of the department led by Mr. Ekindci at present is to accurately evaluate the possibilities for increasing Turkey's concrete cooperation with certain East European countries. The economic initiatives implemented by Turkish and Soviet companies and organizations in recent years are encouraging. The Turkish Government intends to provide incentives for large economic groups in Turkey to engage in cooperation with state and private associations in Poland and Hungary.

I used a pause in the conversation to ask how Bulgarian-Turkish economic relations might be revived, which years ago were at an enviable level. Imperceptibly, the subject of our conversation changed to the relations between Bulgaria and Turkey. My interviewee agreed that the businessmen of both countries should act as the sappers who will clear the minefields obstructing bilateral cooperation. I suggested that journalists should be added to the sapper group. Mr Ekindci smiled, and asked his secretary to bring some of the aromatic Turkish tea, the secret of whose preparation I had never managed to learn, despite my many years of service as a correspondent in Ankara.

I asked him if it was possible to speak of any changes in Turkey's Balkans policy. He answered me by saying that, at least for the moment, his country is keeping to its previous positions in this field: Turkey attaches primary importance to the development of bilateral relations and also supports multilateral initiatives, provided they are made "step by step" without undue haste. With regard to the initiative for a Balkan nuclear-free zone, Turkey continues to defend the thesis that such a zone will not be necessary until the USSR and United States reach agreement on general disarmament. I might add here that, in the event of a Balkan nuclear-free zone being created, Turkey would lose almost 1 billion dollars of military aid, which at the moment is being provided by the United States and NATO.

Israel's Shim'on Peres Arrives for Visit

LD2101174190 Prague CTK in English 1648 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] Prague Jan 21 (CTK)—Israeli first deputy premier, Finance Minister and Israeli Labour Party Chairman Shim'on Peres arrived here today.

His visit, the first by a high Israeli official to Czechoslovakia since the severance of diplomatic relations between the two states in 1967, Is taking place at the invitation of Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus. Due to his illness, the Israeli guest was welcomed at Prague Ruzyne airport by Foreign Trade Minister Andrej Barcak.

Peres Views Visit

LD2101190290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] Roughly 2 hours ago, a Czechoslovak plane on the regular Zurich-Prague route landed at Ruzyne Airport in Prague. It carried on board Shim'on Peres, first deputy Israeli premier and finance minister.

Almost all world agencies are devoting their attention to the visit. And no wonder, because it involves the highest level of contacts between Czechoslovakia and Israel for more than 20 years, as the U.S. AP agency has, for instance, put it. My colleague, Miroslav Kaiser, returned from the airport a short while ago, and thus I am able to ask him for the first information about the visit of the Israeli guest. Good evening.

[Kaiser] Good evening. Despite apparent tiredness after the journey, Shim'on Peres has given the journalists there—and really many of us gathered there at the airport—an improvised interview. Now I am going to ask the producer to play back the authentic record of Mr. Peres' words. [Peres recording in English begins and the following words are heard: "...in a way as visit by Israeli officials after an interruption of 20 years..." before fading out] I am going to tell you what was roughly said during the interview.

Questions naturally revolved around relations between our countries in the new situation that has been created in Czechoslovakia after 17 November. Mr. Peres said that people in Israel are attentively following the developments in our country and look with sympathy at the trends toward the restoration of democracy and the return to an arrangement of the Czechoslovak state really based on the rule of law.

Asked whether diplomatic relations will be discussed during meetings with Czechoslovak officials, Mr. Peres replied that yes, it is necessary to make use of every opportunity for talks on this subject. In his words, the time for this has come. He also talked about economic cooperation. He sees opportunities in agriculture, electronics, and in medicine, and he said that concrete agreements should be concluded soon that will stimulate trade between Czechoslovakia and Israel.

[Announcer] What is the specific program of Shim'on Peres' visit to Czechoslovakia?

[Kaiser] At this moment, he should be meeting Marian Calfa, our prime minister. According to the program, that meeting began at 1700 GMT. I would like to add here that Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus, on whose invitation the visit is in fact taking place, is sick and thus the first meeting is with our prime minister. Shim'on Peres will visit the synagogue in Prague, the Jewish museum, and will also meet representatives of Prague's Jewish community. On the agenda of the Israeli guest's visit is also a meeting with President Vaclav Havel and Alexander Dubcek, chairman of the Federal Assembly, then a news conference at 1530 GMT [date not specified], to be followed by a gala dinner for Civic Forum—a very full program indeed.

Calfa Favors Improved Ties

LD2101215890 Prague CTK in English 2040 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] Prague Jan 21 (CTK)—"Both sides jointly strive to promote their relations on the bilateral basis and to overcome the infavourable period of the past two decades," Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa told Israeli newsmen after ending today's talks with visiting Israeli Deputy Premier Shim'on Peres.

He said that a concrete date of re-establishing diplomatic contacts between the two countries has not yet been discussed but both sides are interested in doing so as soon as possible.

"I myself laid stress on the exchange of citizens," Marian Calfa said and added: "I am naturally also interested in Israel's experience from the management of the economy as we know that Israel has a relatinely strong and well-organized state sector. Also the idea of cooperatives, which has a long-standing tradition in our country, has been brought to perfection in Israel," the Czechoslovak premier said.

Peres Attends Service

LD2301022790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Shim'on Peres, first deputy Israeli premier and minister of finance, opened the second day of his visit to Czechoslovakia by sightseeing in the former Jewish ghetto in Prague. First he attended a regular service at the Old Synagogue.

Peres Visits Jewish Museum

LD2201152990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Shim'on Peres, Israeli first deputy prime minister and finance minister, visited the

State Jewish Museum in Prague today, where he acquainted himself with the history and culture of the Czech Jewish community. In the High Synagogue, he viewed a collection of rare textiles, and in the Klaus Synagogue, he looked at Hebrew manuscripts and old prints. At the Old Jewish Cemetery, he paid homage to the memory of the legendary 16th Century Prague scientist Rabbi Loew. At the end of his visit to the former Prague ghetto, Shim'on Peres viewed an exhibition of drawings of Jewish children from the Terezin concentration camp.

Meets Havel, Dubcek

LD2201182790 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Today Vaclav Havel, president of the republic, received Shim'on Peres, Israel's first deputy premier and finance minister. The Israeli guest briefed the president about the talks commencing between the Israelis and the Palestinians, and about the Israeli Labour Party's resolve to bring these talks to a successful conclusion through peaceful and political means. He noted that Czechoslovakia's good relations with Israel should not be detrimental to its relations with Arab countries.

Vaclav Havel emphasized that Czechoslovakia desires good relations with all countries and noted our country's resolve not to contribute to kindling hotbeds of tension through arms supplies.

Shim'on Peres was also received in Prague today by Alexander Dubcek, chairman of the Federal Assembly.

Talks on Establishing Ties

LD2201184390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] A news conference took place in the Federal Ministry of Finance building this evening for domestic and foreign journalists in the presence of the Israeli guest, Shim'on Peres, and our Finance MInister Vaclav Klaus. Frantisek Prachar returned from the news conference a moment ago. Good evening.

[Prachar] Good evening.

[Announcer] And I must ask what was it like?

[Prachar] Interesting. After the Israeli security officer allowed us to enter the hall, both representatives arrived and delivered opening statements on the visit and the talks. They stated unequivocally that both sides agreed, within the framework of opening up Czechoslovakia to the world, on the vital need to normalize mutual relations, and that the priority in this first instance should be economic cooperation. To some extent, it was unusual that at this news conference a joint memorandum was signed that sets out this cooperation in concrete and specific terms.

Shim'on Peres and Vaclav Klaus signed a document that dealt with investment and investment protection, customs duties, cooperation in agriculture, the use of various forms of energy and research, and cooperation in health care, tourism, and some other areas. It was also said that the exchange of expert delegations from both sides, which will jointly evaluate the possibilities of cooperation in the stated areas and will prepare concrete agreements, is expected in all these areas.

[Announcer] I would also like to ask about international political questions, Where they also a topic for discussion?

[Prachar] Certainly. Of immediate interest to our country is the planned visit by Vaclav Havel, president of the republic, to Israel and also that of Foreign Affairs Minister Jiri Dienstbier to the same place. The exact date will be announced in a special announcement. Shim'on Peres also said that diplomatic relations between Czechoslovakia and Israel will most likely be renewed during the visit of Premier Shamir to Prague—a matter of a few weeks.

In answer to a question about the international conference on solving the situation in the Middle East, Shim'on Peres said:

[Begin Peres recording in English with superimposed Czech translation] I think that the calling of an international conference was logical at a time when there were talks between the Palestinians, Jordan and Israel. Now when we are holding talks only with the Palestinians, I do not think we need the complications connected with the international conference, and the international scene has also changed. We hope that we will meet with the Palestinian representatives and that we will make use of the good services of the United States and Egypt in doing so. Perhaps this meeting will have a smaller number of participants but will be luckier for it. [end recording]

Dines With Forum Leaders

LD2201213890 Prague CTK in English 2054 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Prague Jan 22 (CTK)—Israeli Deputy Premier and Finance Minister Shim'on Peres ended the second day of his visit to Czechoslovakia with a dinner with representatives of the Civic Forum.

At the dinner he also met representatives of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party.

Earlier the Israeli statesman had a meeting with Czechoslovak Foreign Miniser Jiri Dienstbier.

Palestinian Envoy Comments

LD2201222790 Prague CTK in English 2149 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Prague Jan 22 (CTK)—Palestinian Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Samih 'Abd al-Fattah welcomed

today Vice-Premier and Finance Minister Shimon'on Peres' statement of Israel's for a dialogue with Palestinians.

In a statement to CTK, Samih 'Abd al-Fattah said it was regrettable that the Palestinian peace initiative of the past period met no response from Israel and he therefore welcomed Shim'on Peres statement of Israel's readiness for a dialogue with Palestinians, as well as the fact that even before the start of the Palestinian uprising the Israeli vice-premier had been convinced of the need for a historic compromise between Israelis and Palestinians.

However, Palestinians have the right to ask what Peres had done to this end in the post of Israeli premier roughly two years ago and what he did over the past two years when holding high functions, the statement said, adding that the opportunity has come for Mr Peres and his party to manifest their effort in persuading the Israeli Government of the need for immediate talks with the PLO without preliminary conditions.

Peres Ends Visit

LD2301131590 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1130 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Shim'on Peres, first deputy premier of the Israeli Government and minister of finance, left Prague today. During his visit, he signed with our minister of finances, Vaclav Klaus, a document on economic cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Israel. Shim'on Peres also invited President Vaclav Havel to visit Jerusalem on 26 April when an international conference on Czechoslovak Jews will be held there.

Government 'Attentively Following' USSR Events

LD2201124390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1200 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Foreign Ministry spokesman Lubos Dobrovsky has said that the ministry was attentively following the tragic events in Azerbaijan and Armenia. It shares the Soviet leadership's concern about the lives of innocent citizens and understands the reasons that led the Soviet Government to the steps protecting the lives of people. Lubos Dobrovsky expressed hope that violence will stop and that life in the entire area will return to normal again.

Soviet Military Movements Reduced After Protest

LD2201202190 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] A convoy of 120 tracked and 115 wheeled vehicles of the Soviet Army was to travel from tomorrow through the Olomouc district for military exercises in the Libava area. The wave of protests of citizens from Olomouc prompted the coordination committee of the local Civic Forum to hold talks with representatives of the Soviet Army in Olomouc, and these took place this afternoon. In the presence of students, representatives of national committees of the town and villages, and the transport inspectorate, tomorrow's convoy has been reduced to 18 wheeled vehicles. According to other demands put to representatives of the Soviet Army, tracked vehicles should not use roads in the future and a larger number of wheeled vehicles traveling on the roads must be announced in advance.

A representative of the Soviet garrison in Olomouc was asked to convey to the command of the Central Group of Soviet forces in Milovice the demand to completely stop military exercises and troop movements until their complete withdrawal.

Dienstbier Talks With Soviet Ambassador

LD2201234490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Foreign Affairs Minister Jiri Dienstbier received in Prague today Viktor Lomakin, Soviet ambassador to Czechoslovakia, at the latter's request. They discussed topical problems of the international situation.

Deputy Proposes Soviet Troop Withdrawal

LD2301210590 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1655 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Speech by Deputy Michal Kocab at the Federal Assembly session—live]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] I am speaking for the first time in the parliament and on a very sensitive subject. The problem that I want to deal with has not been opened here yet, thus I am taking up this task myself because in my opinion this is an urgent matter. Allow me, first of all, to briefly but emphatically express my support for proposals put forward by the president. I think that arguments by which the president supported his proposals are quite extensive and correspond to the view of a majority of our population. The change of the republic's name, the change of the state emblem, and the change of name of our army is welcomed as confirmation of a successful transition of our society from a totalitarian system to democracy by a greater part of the nation. There is, however, one more important fact that prevents the feeling that our changes are definite and irreversible. Allow me to voice at this forum, in the spirit of the Gorbachev's concept of international relations—as the principle of state sovereignty, noninterference in the affairs of other states—my view on the most urgent problem of our state: the question of the presence of Soviet troops on our territory and its legal basis.

The fact that in the past we have not been able to deal properly with this question has cost our nation much pain and suffering. The presence of Soviet troops on our territory is based on a treaty between the CSSR and the USSR on conditions of the temporary presence of Soviet troops on the CSSR territory from 16 October, 1968, and ratified by the National Assembly's resolution from 18 October, 1968. [passage omitted on treaty, which Kocab

calls a clear violation of principles of international law, above all the UN charter] The treaty was concluded at the time when troops of five armies of the Warsaw Pact were present on our territory, thus, under obvious military pressure. The National Assembly agreed with the ratification of this treaty and proceeded from the unequal conclusions of Moscow talks in the period 23-26 August and 3-4 October, 1968, and said in its resolution at the 27th National Assembly on 18 October, 1968, that—and I quote—it is at this time the only possible way out for the gradual withdrawal of troops of the five states of the Warsaw Pact from the CSSR territory. [passage omitted]

The treaty is an obvious violation of the state sovereignty and other principles of international law, and thus I propose that it is declared null by the Federal Assembly, that is invalid from the very beginning. Such a declaration is a necessary prerequisite for an immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops. Recognizing the fact that the troops cannot leave as fast as they came, I propose that the Federal Assembly sets, in a sequel to the trust expressed to the CSSR Government in December for its talks with the Soviet side, the deadline for the definite withdrawal of Soviet troops to the end of 1990 with the point that a considerable part of troops and their equipment will be withdrawn by 15 May, 1990, and to turn, at the same time, to the USSR Supreme Soviet for support for these justified demands.

Esteemed Federal Assembly, allow me to read out the drafts of both resolutions:

The first resolution: The Federal Assembly of the CSSR declares the treaty between the governments of the CSSR and the USSR of 16 October, 1968, on conditions of the temporary presence of Soviet troops on the CSSR territory ratified by the National Assembly on 18 October, 1968, invalid from the very beginning.

And the draft of the second resolution, including a message to the USSR Supreme Soviet, I quote: The intervention by troops of the Soviet Union and the other four countries of the Warsaw Pact in Czechoslovakia in August 1968 meant the violation of the basic principle of the international law. Because of the invalid character of the treaty on conditions of the temporary presence of Soviet troops on CSSR territory of 16 October, 1968, since its very beginning, the CSSR Federal Assembly considers it necessary for the troops of the Soviet Union, which for more than 21 years have remained on our state territory without a legal reason, to be withdrawn expediently. The Federal Assembly of the CSSR expressed the full suport for the CSSR Government in the talks with the Soviet side and stresses the necessity to start the withdrawal of Soviet troops immediately so that by 15 May, 1990, a considerable part of the troops and their armament are withdrawn and the withdrawal completed by the end of 1990 at the latest. In connection with this, the Federal Assembly of the CSSR stresses the wish of the Czechoslovak people to fulfill the idea of identity, independence, and state sovereignty and turns to the USSR Supreme Soviet, in the interest of friendly relations not burdened by the mistakes of the past, to support these justified demands of Czechoslovak people.

Esteemed Federal Assembly, it would be, no doubt, a great underestimation of you, deputies of the Federal Assembly and citizens of the whole country, if I were to defend both of my proposals also from my position as a human being. There is possibly no such a unity on other questions concerning the most basic matters of both our nations as regarding the withdrawal of the Soviet military forces. Thank you for your attention.

Demonstrators Demand Soviet Troop Withdrawal

LD2401111490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0500 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] A mass demonstration demanding the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia was held in Vysoke Myto yesterday. At least one-fourth of the citizens of this town of 12,000 inhabitants took part in it. The citizens handed the following demand to the commander in chief of Soviet troops there: withdrawal of troops by the time of the free election; immediate liquidation of the fuel storage, the evacuation of the building used by the command by the end of January and the return of the building of the former music school, which is now a museum of the Soviet Army's military glory.

Soviet Envoy Presents Awards to Citizens

LD2301210290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Orders of the Great Patriotic War-First Class for bravery and daring shown in battle against German fascist occupiers were presented to 105 Czechoslovak citizens today by Viktor Lomakin, the Soviet ambassador to Czechoslovakia. The decision was made by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

As Viktor Lomakin said, both countries are now going through a period of change. In the Soviet Union, they consider the changes in Czechoslovakia to be the result of internal processes reflecting the pressing need for a renewal of the life of society. He emphasized that his country sees a friend, ally, and neighbor in Czechoslovakia, with which it is linked by wide, all-round joint action on the basis of rich traditions.

'New Legal Basis' Sought for Polish Relations

LD2201214690 Prague CTK in English 1526 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Prague Jan 22 (CTK)—Czechoslovak and Polish Premiers Marian Calfa and Tadeusz Mazowiecki today called for a change in the quality of mutual relations in politics, economy, ecology, and culture in a press release issued at the close of their talks here.

They said that contacts between Czechoslovakia and Poland must be put on a new legal basis.

Marian Calfa gave a lunchenon in honour of his Polish counterpart. It was attended by members of the Polish delegation and by Czechoslovak Deputy Premiers Jan Carnogursky, Josef Hromadka, Frantisek Reichel and other Czechoslovak officials. Also present were representatives of the Civic Forum Coordinating Centre and Polish Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Wlodzimerz Mokrzyszczak.

Accompanied by Marian Calfa, the Polish premier paid tribute to student Jan Palach at Vsetaty, Palach's birthplace. He said that in his opinion Jan Palach's sacrifice 21 years ago has been preserved in the memory of the Czechoslovak people fighting for freedom.

After a plenary session of the Polish and Czechoslovak delegation today, Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki said in a statement for the information media that the focus of bilateral relations lies not in slogans but in close cooperation of two independent states and nations which are close to each other. He said he was convinced this good cooperation can have a major impact on the shaping of a new Europe just at the time when Central and Eastern Europe experience great changes.

Mazowiecki recalled that the two countries already began developing economic, political, ecological and cultural ties, cross-border contacts and tourism and are settling the situation of Poles in Czechoslovakia.

Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa stressed that the Polish premier was welcomed in Czechoslovakia as a representative of a state which supported Czechoslovakia's democratization process and made it quite clear.

He said the two sides had exchanged views on the situation in relations between the two countries as a whole, while not avoiding controversial issues, particularly environmental ones and the whole sphere of ecology. Both premiers have good will to find a solution and an acceptable compromise in this respect, Calfa said.

He added that the two sides agreed they should put their relations on a new legal footing.

Civic Forum on Relations With Poland

LD2201160890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1400 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] The coordination center of Civic Forum has adopted a stance on some current problems of Polish-Czechoslovak relations. It recommends the renewal of "small border contacts" that would be utilized by Polish and Czechoslovak citizens inhabiting the area near the state border. These contacts would have no negative economic consequences. It is a pressing matter because the current state of affairs prevents contacts between family members living in the two states.

The stance of the Civic Forum coordination center expresses the conviction that current changes in the state policy toward churches will enable all past offenses to be rectified. One of them is an administrative transfer of six Catholic priests from the Cesky Tesin area to inner Moravia. We are fully in favor of making it possible for these priests to again join believers of Polish nationalities, the stance says.

Calfa Resignation Viewed at News Conference

AU2301182590 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Jan 90 pp 1, 2

[Robert Dengler and CTK report: "Apropos M. Calfa's Resignation From the Party"]

[Text] Prague (from our own correspondent)—"At the December roundtable session, an agreement was reached in a spirit of national understanding," said Josef Hora, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Executive Committee spokesman, at a news conference on Friday [19 January]. "On this basis, a recommendation was accepted that the president should be a Czech without party affiliation and that the prime minister should be a Slovak and member of the CPCZ.

"Marian Calfa did not inform the party Central Committee, its organs, or individual party functionaries of his decision to quit the CPCZ." According to the spokesman, this situation will be discussed at an Executive Committee session on 27 January 1990. In reply to journalists' questions, he said that only the republic's president has the right to recall the prime minister and that the CSSR Federal Assembly has the right to pass a motion of no confidence in him. However, according to Hora, Calfa's decision may negatively influence many party members.

Jiri Machalik and Frantisek Adamek, CPCZ Central Committee secretaries, gave a briefing on the commencement of work by a CPCZ Central Committee commission that has been given the task of objectively evaluating the years 1968-69 and subsequent development in the CSSR. The RUDE PRAVO reporter asked whether the commission envisions difficulty in gaining access to archive materials since it is unusual to make public relatively "young" documents. J. Machalik said in reply to this: "The archives issue must be secondary to the CPCZ extraordinary congress' binding task of dealing with blank spots. We will demand access to archives other than party ones."

The CPCZ Central Committee Executive Committee will officially request access to Communist Party archives in those countries that participated in the 1968 intervention. As Petr Novotny, chairman of the commission, said, a new lesson with permanent validity will not be the outcome of the commission's work; only an open document will be the outcome.

A letter from Ondrej Saling, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, to Richard Sacher, CSSR interior minister,

containing a request for an investigation into an incident at the CPCZ District Committee in Nymburk was also made public at the news conference.

During an interview with CTK, Czechoslovak Television, and Czechoslovak Radio, Marian Calfa outlined his reasons for resigning from the CPCZ: "I would like to reach a nonparty level in my government activity; I would like to reach a specialist level. But my personal attitude toward the party of which I was a member for a number of years also plays a role in this. I ask people to understand that this is my personal affair."

More Former Party Functionaries Expelled

AU2201160290 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 Jan 90 p 1

["(DO)"-signed report: "The CPSL Central Committee Executive Committee Has Held a Session"]

[Text] Bratislava—The Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Central Committee Executive Committee held a session yesterday. It discussed preparations for the CPSL Central Committee session that will take place today at 0900. It assessed information and suggestions from the citywide communists' aktiv held in Bratislava on 16 January 1990, from CPCZ district and municipal district committees, and from letters it has received from party members. It stated that the CPSL district, or rather, municipal district committees must intensify their work in creating new party organizational structures after the departure of some primary organizations from workplaces.

The Executive Committee calls upon party members to immediately turn to the appropriate district and municipal district committees with all their problems in seeking new forms of work and in paying members' contributions. An advisory-consultative group is at their disposal in the CPSL Central Committee to deal with such problems. Comrade Jozef Artimov can be reached every day by calling 424-51.

On the basis of an inquiry carried out by a commission composed of members of the Central Control and Audit Commission that was set up in December 1989 and headed by Jan Demikat, chairman of the CPSL Central Control and Audit Commission, the CPSL Central Committee Executive Committee is expelling the following former functionaries from CPSL ranks: Gustav Busniak, Jan Gonda, Ladislav Luhovy, Rudolf Mikulec, Frantisek Miseje, Emil Siska, Jozef Vavra, Jan Baka, Jirina Divacka, Milan Miklas, Alojz Mikusinec, Vladimir Pirosik, Jan Csik, Julius Turon, Dezider Goga, Juraj Busa, Andrej Opaleny, Ladislav Spacinsky, and Jan Svab.

The CPSL Central Committee Executive Committee also made note of a report delivered by Jan Demikat that requests the municipal prosecutor to file charges against Ignac Janak and Jan Svab.

Jan Siroky, chairman of the CPSL Central Committee Executive Committee, has handed over a new Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] membership card to Samuel Faltan, who had been unjustly expelled from the CPCZ in 1970.

Federal Assembly Passes Law on Political Parties

LD2301181590 Prague CTK in English 1717 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Prague Jan 23 (CTK)—Czechoslovak citizens have the right to associate in political parties, under a new law on political parties passed by the Federal Assembly today.

The law stressed that the formation of political parties serves citizens for taking part in the country's political life, in particular in forming the state's representative bodies. So far there have been five political parties in Czechoslovakia, which, however, did not reflect the political spectrum in society to the full. After the Federal Assembly passed a change in the Constitution on November 29, 1989 and abolished the leading role of the Communist Party in society, new scope for the activity of political parties was created in the country. The initiatives that came into being after the November events—the Civic Forum in Bohemia and Moravia and the Public Against Violence in Slovakia—are described as political movements by the new law. At least 1,000 signatures of citizens above 18 are required for registration of a new political party.

In the past two months over 30 groups have been seeking the status of a political party in this country. The law complies with the needs of preparations for free elections in June. It was described as provisional because its principles should be embodied in the new constitution which will be worked out by the future parliament.

Dubcek Addresses Federal Assembly

LD2301202190 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 0905 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Speech by Federal Assembly President Alexander Dubcek at the Federal Assembly session in Prague on 23 January—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed deputies, allow me at the start of our proceedings to say what is ahead of us in the coming weeks. Exceptionally important tasks are ahead of us. The thing is for the Federal Assembly to create in a short period of time a legislative basis for the irreversibility of our road embarked upon in November last year and its further development. This will mainly involve a legislative activity in the following areas: first, the finalization of the creation of a political system; second, the ensuring of political rights and freedoms of citizens; third, the development of our economy; and fourth, the strengthening of the international position of our republic.

The legislative activity of the Federal Assembly should encourage the development of pluralistic democracy,

which is the source of political activity, the initiative of all citizens, and the guarantee of the irreversibility of the ongoing political processes.

At this are directed a bill on political parties, the draft of which is included in today's agenda, and a bill on elections to the Federal Assembly. In the new election bill, principles on which decisive political forces agreed on during talks at the roundtable will be expressed legally. The bills will amend the political rights and freedoms of citizens in such a way that everyone can, as effectively as possible, participate in the political and public life to freely express one's views so that in our society a democratic atmosphere is formed. These are bills on the right to assemble, the petition bill, and the new press law. It will be our role to express in them humanistic ideals, [word indistinct] all international pledges, to fulfill them with real norms, so that all that we have in the past signed on international documents is not only a formal matter but that it is expressed in our internal legislation.

Closely linked with the aforementioned bills is a draft bill that will resolve some questions connected with the unjustified punishment of persons who, as a consequence of their political stands or other reasons, have emigrated and had their Czechoslovak citizenship taken away from them. Finally, we will discuss drafts of serious bills aimed at accelerating the radical economic reform preparing the transition to the market economy.

These are exceptionally complex issues. It will be necessary to change the adopted bills on the state enterprise and to adopt quite-new bills that will create conditions for free enterprise and a number of others. We will create a legislative basis for the opening of our economy to the world around us. At the same time, we consider it to be our duty to look after the social position of our citizens. It will also be useful for the Federal Assembly to discuss shortly a report by the foreign minister on our present foreign policy and its prospects. We too, along the line of Federal Assembly, can do a lot with foreign parliaments. The proof of this is talks with a group of Italian parliamentarians, members of the U.S. Congress, and the chairman of the European Parliament. Mr President, the government and myself have paid a lot of attention to these issues. The aim is for our republic to open to the world and become an active member of the European Community.

The results of the talks in the Federal Assembly and also of talks in Strassbourg are encouraging. We will also continue in the coming months to develope intensive contacts with foreign parliaments. At the beginning of next month, Mr. Bjoerck, chairman of the Parliamentary Assembly of the European Council, will be the Federal Assembly's guest. Our republic wants to participate fully in the processes that will reinforce economic, cultural, and political-legal cooperation. In a letter of 9 January, 1990, I informed Mr. Bjoerck that we were applying for the status of guest of the European Council.

On the agenda of the day will be the bills of other laws, too. We envision that the CSSR Government will soon put forward to the Federal Assembly Presidium its entire legislative program, which follows from its policy statement. Our internal activity should comply with these tasks. It is likely that in some cases it will be inevitable due to urgency to give up discussing the principles of laws. This increases the responsibility of deputies to make sure that at the deliberations about the draft laws at the meetings of committees and chambers, laws of high quality are formulated. The parliament should not be only an approving factor with regard to the laws, but a body that makes a decision about the content of the law, its formal perfection, and its adherence to our legal system. [passage omitted]

On the occasion of the 140th birth anniversary of Tomas Garrigue Masaryk, the first Czechoslovak president, it would be appropriate to put in the Federal Assembly a commemmorative tablet with a text: Tomas Garrigue Masaryk deserves credits for his services to the state.

We should also study more the experience of parliaments, particularly in Western Europe, so that we can apply their best experience in our work. The Federal Assembly should also pay close attention to the control of the activity of executive bodies of the government. This should occur already at the discussion of the state budget of the federation for 1990. More work for the Federal Assembly will result also from the afternoon initiative speech of President Vaclav Havel about some constitutional laws. The Federal Assembly should also apply its authority and intiative in the preparation of new constitution, constitutional and other laws.

The organization of society on democratic principles is unthinkable without the reinforcement of the character of the state as a legal state. Esteemed deputies, we all should contribute to making the Federal Assembly and all its bodies really operational, to make the Federal Assembly gradually into a real parliament. The prerequisite for this and also our moral duty is to come to terms with the consequences of normalization policy that affected equally hard our entire life and the parliament, too. I would like to inform the Federal Assembly that we have created a group of deputies that will deal with the rehabilitation of those deputies who were unjustifiably stripped of their mandates. The political parties and civic initiatives should take this fact into consideration.

We want to work promptly but with full responsibility. We should create already today conditions for making the parliament the center of political happenings in which important political decisions will not only be approved but, above all, created, made, and completed into the form that will be in harmony with the common interests of our peoples. We can achieve this not only by having extensive legislative activity but, above all, by profound changes in the content of laws, the need for which was created by the new times and changes in the social events. [passage omitted]

Apart from its irreplacable legislative tasks, the Federal Assembly should play a positive part in the political atmosphere of our country. From this viewpoint, I welcomed the standpoint of the coordination center of the Civic Forum that was delivered by Mr. Pithard on Friday. We all want humanitarian ideals and, above all, the will to act to win. The spirit of national understanding must fill all our activity. Let us do our utmost to see Czechoslovakia take the place in Europe that we want for it.

Assembly Presidium Meets; Deputies Resign

LD2301214890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] The Presidia of both chambers of our highest legislative body were in session, chaired by their chairmen, Josef Bartoncik and Jozef Stank.

The Presidium of the Chamber of the People noted the resignations of the following deputies: Bretislav Benda, Hana Kralickova, Jozef Lenart, Maria Dubova, Pavol Jonas, Drahomira Slaba, Jaroslav Klicha, Aranka Rocnakova, Miroslav Slavik, Vaclav David, Miroslav Bochenek, Jaroslav Hajn, Frantisek Ondrich, Rudolf Rohlicek, Svatopluk Potac, Ignac Janak, Karol Laco, Zdenek Horeni, Vera Pechova, Pavol Bahyl, Jiri Neuhert, Stanislav Toms, Vladimir Blazek and Jan Pakan. Vladimir Simek also resigned for health reasons.

The Chamber of Nations Presidium noted the resignations of the following deputies: Frantisek Hanus, Dana Kancirova, Frantisek Samec, Tomas Travnicek, Jindrich Polednik, Hana Kantorova, Hana Dyckova, Dezider Zagiba, Richard Nejezchleb, Dalibor Hanes, Vaclav Stafek, and Dusan Passia.

The mandates of these deputies cease as of today.

When the joint session of both chambers ended, the Federal Assembly Presidium promulgated the bills passed.

It also empowered Alexander Dubcek, chairman of the Federal Assembly, to make decisions until the June elections this year on the realization of action in the area of foreign relations of the Federal Assembly at home and abroad with the proviso that the last action can take place at the end of April this year. An exception is the May interparliamentary conference on disarmament in Bonn.

Former Premier on Past Developments

AU1701194390

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 16 January on page 4, under the headline "The Mistakes Started in 1948," carries a 1,500-word interview with former CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal by Jiri Tomes and Roman Prorok. Development during the past two decades and Strougal's role in it are discussed.

Looking back at the events of 20 years ago, Strougal said that disagreements were a common feature in the party's leadership during the years 1969-71. According to him, "Two streams of thought were established. Unfortunately, the progressive one did not triumph." He went on to say, "Instead of the ideas contained in the Action Program—the ideas of democratic socialism—a neo-Stalinist model was adopted. The fundamental reason for all the failures of the past 20 years lies in the political system and in the direct implementation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia's [CPCZ] leading role." When talking about the reasons for his resignation as premier, Strougal said: "In essence, nothing was done about political reform. I saw that many comrades in the party leadership were not sincerely convinced about democratization." He continued, "At the CPCZ Central Committee session of 24 November 1989 I discovered that the majority of the Central Committee did not understand the real situation and was incapable of reacting to developments after 17 November."

Replying to a question about the government's subservience to the CPCZ Central Committee, Strougal said that the CPCZ Central Committee's interference in the government's work increased after 1972. Prior to this time some dialogue had been conducted and the constitutional rights of government members in economic and social issues had been respected.

The interviewers asked Strougal to evaluate the 1968 Prague Spring. He said that he had been surprised by the election of Alexander Dubcek as first secretary as he thought that someone more prepared should have been elected.

According to the interviewers, opinions have begun to circulate which claim that the 17 November intervention had been prepared with the intention of breaking the leadership's grip on power. Strougal maintains that this is mere speculation. "Police interventions result from the power system and from a policy which proceeds from the premise that demonstrations are not an expression of people's dissatisfaction but are an anti-socialist phenomenon and that the majority of the people support the CPCZ."

In reply to a final question about how he assesses his life, Strougal said, "With some disappointment. It should have been different during the past 40 years. The mistakes started in 1948 when government by one party was established."

Planning Minister on Reform Policy

AU1912124289 Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT in German 18 Dec 89 p 10

[Klaus E. Engelen report: "We Cannot Promise a Garden of Roses"]

[Text] Prague—"Opening up the CSSR economy step by step and mobilizing real competitive forces, even before full integration into the international economy becomes

possible with a convertible currency, has top priority for us," Vladimir Dlouhy, the planning minister of the new CSSR Government said in an interview with HANDELSBLATT.

"There are weighty distortions in the price structure, which we should tackle immediately, for instance in energy prices, housing rents, prices for staple foods, where subsidies are enormous. But we must act carefully."

Even though the new CSSR Government can rely on increasingly strong support, even among the working people in the industrial regions—no least because the old regime of Stalinists was politically and economically ruined—Dlouhy warns against overestimating the currently available leeway of the new government to implement reforms.

Fear of Social Insecurity

"We must not overlook the fact that workers in many parts of the CSSR are uncertain about the forthcoming restructuring." They are following the economic turbulences in the reformist East Bloc countries, such as Poland, Hungary, the GDR, and the Soviet Union. Such a marked lack of supplies, such as appears in some socialist states, could undermine the trust in the "reform experiments" of the new government.

The workers in the CSSR fear, according to Dlouhy, for their jobs and their social security if their unprofitable enterprises are closed. Then there are also the retirees who are worried about rising prices and higher rents.

"Now it is important," Dlouhy says, "that we explain the reform process to the uncertain working people and the worried remainder of the population, and make it clear to them that the CSSR has the potential to overcome —after a transitional period—the structural crisis, which has been smoldering for years, through restructuring and modernization of the enterprises and the economic sectors. We cannot promise a garden of roses, but we must make it clear to our workers that the CSSR can master the upcoming phase of adjustment quite well. We cannot yet say how long it will take until an efficient market economy of the European type is developed."

Together with the other deputy chairmen of the Prague Forecasting Institute, Vaclav Klaus, and the prominent head of the institute, Valtr Komarek, economist Dlouhy made sure over the past weeks that the leading CSSR economists supported the "Civic Forum." Therefore, it was no surprise that the entire leadership of the Forecasting Institute found themselves in the first CSSR Government which is not dominated by Communists: Komarek as deputy premier, Klaus as finance minister, and Dlouhy as chief of the planning authority.

Bringing the gigantic planning apparatus onto a course toward reform will be difficult—Dlouhy does not have any illusions about this. "There is the great danger that much is said about reforms, but that the operators of the apparatus continue in the old way and block the real opening up of the system toward more decentralization and competition." Dlouhy and his political friends in the new Prague government consider themselves as a "counterweight" to the central planners in the government apparatus, who are still at the top of various important ministries and of whom it is to be assumed that "they will continue to act in the categories of central planning, industrial and foreign trade monopolies, and the allocation of capital and foreign currency that is decreed from above."

The new Prague planning chief, who recently drew up a comprehensive study on the reform of the CSSR economy for the United Nations, sees himself at the head of an authority which needs to be restructured—if it is not abolished—in the course of decentralization and the opening up of the market-economy. The planning authority has to make sure that the allocation of resources is comprehensively improved.

No Independent Model

The economic reforms which were decided by the old government—ranging from shifting authority to make decisions to the enterprises, up to the banking reform, which is to come into force on 1 January 1990—are at least starting points for the necessary restructuring.

Concerning the reform program that has to be developed by the new government, Dlouhy, the chief planner, does not want to speak of a "CSSR model"; nor does he consider it useful to take a "Polish model," a "Hungarian model," or ideas such as a "socialist market economy" as examples.

In the end, the upcoming free elections in the CSSR will decide how far a reformist Prague government can go in returning to the market economy. Only then will it be shown which political group and which economic program is favored by the voters. Even though the CSSR voters give high priority to safeguarding social ownership, the insight that social security must be built on a functioning economy is also increasing. If the voters accept a radical program in the spirit of market economy reforms, the system of social security will also be tested.

The more or less stable conditions on the CSSR consumer goods markets must not be undermined by too drastic price hikes. It would also be politically dangerous to exacerbate already existing supply bottlenecks. However, in the medium term one cannot avoid a reform of the pricing system, which is to be basically oriented toward a market economy.

Even though, apart from the GDR, the CSSR economy has the highest level of the East Bloc states in terms of industrial development, supplies of consumer goods, and general standard of living, the striking misdirections of the centralized economy and the links with the CEMA economies have demanded ever increasing prices since the beginning of the 1980's. "If there have been raises in the standard of living since the end of the 1970's, they

were quantitative—more Skoda cars or television sets of lesser quality or improvements in supplies via expanding 'gray' or 'black' markets."

If the old regime was able to report an economic growth of about 2 percent over the past years, one has to ask what kind of qualitative growth this was. Dlouhy: "We have an economy which uses twice as much energy as comparable countries; which is surpassed only by the special case of Luxembourg in terms of the share of steel production in the gross national product; which works with an outdated industrial structure, with distorted investment priorities, and with an extremely high degree of monopolization; an economy, which (because of the highly unsalable stocks) is giving increasingly clear alarm signals."

Trade Ministry Commission on Post-'68 Actions

LD2712185589 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Foreign Trade Minister Andrej Barcak decided to form a commission that will coordinate efforts to put right the wrong decisions taken with regard to this Ministry's employees in the connection with the military and political suppression of the Czechoslovak reform movement in 1968-70.

As 20 years have already passed, not all documents regarding those people who were affected are available, and the commission therefore calls on the employees of the Ministry of Foreign Trade who feel affected to contact directly the office of the minister, either in person or in writing.

Biography of Assembly Chairman Stanislav Kukral

AU1912143089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Dec 89 p 1

["Biography" of Stanislav Kukral, newly elected chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly]

[Text] Stanislav Kukral, the new chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, was born on 9 November 1935 in Kasina Hora in the Pisek district. After training to be a lathe-worker, he entered ZVVZ [Plant for Production of Pneumatic Equipment] Milevsko in 1953. While he was working, he studied at the engineering secondary school in Pisek. Since 1967 he has worked at the ZVVZ Milevsko Assembly Plant as the head of marketing. He has been publicly active for many years. He was elected as a deputy to the Municipal National Committee and is a member of the Municipal National Committee Council. He became a Federal Assembly deputy in 1976 and since that time has been a permanent member of the Chamber of Nations Committee for Industry, Transportation, and Commerce. He is without political affiliation. On 5 December this year Stanislav Kukral was appointed minister-chairman of the Czech Socialist Republic People's Control Committee.

Intra-German Cooperation Commission Meets

LD2301183490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1343 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The first discussion of the GDR-FRG Economic Commission, headed by the ministers Dr. Gerhard Beil of the GDR and Dr. Helmut Haussmann of the FRG, began Tuesday [23 January] in Berlin. The state of economic reform in the GDR, as well as German-German cooperation with the main focus on industrial cooperation, are to be debated. There will also be discussion of the founding of small and medium-sized private enterprises in the GDR, as well as the modernization of existing firms. The lifting of trade restrictions toward the GDR is to be discussed. [passage omitted]

'Concrete Results' Possible

LD2301184890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1750 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Prime Minister Hans Modrow today [23 January] received Federal Economics Minister Helmut Haussmann, who is in Berlin for the first consultation of the GDR-FRG Economics Commission. Haussmann underlined that cooperation, above all, in the area of small and medium-sized enterprises can rapidly be translated into concrete results. He referred to the talks already conducted between the two countries' experts on the subject of energy and tourism.

Hans Modrow said that in the GDR numerous preconditions for private initiative have been created, referring to new laws and regulations, such as the lifting of the limit on the number of employees allowed in crafts and trades. The prime minister then outlined the domestic political situation in the GDR, in which all parties and groups should make clear statements on future plans. Levelheadedness is required for future development. In Modrow's view, the main question remained the opportunity to remain economically and politically unharmed until the elections. In this connection, cooperation with the FRG had great importance.

Haussmann replied that the FRG's concern is that GDR citizens should have a future in their country. Concrete stages of economic cooperation should be decided, the FRG politician said, before the currency question can be solved. The FRG's offer of financing from the European reconstruction program to the tune of billions was accepted by the GDR.

The talk was also attended by GDR Deputy Prime Minister Professor Dr. Christa Luft and Foreign Trade Minister Dr. Gerhard Beil.

Modrow on Cooperation

LD2301183890 Hamburg DPA in German 1636 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA/VWD)—Following talks in the German-German Economic Commission in East Berlin this evening [23 January], Federal Economics Minister Helmut Haussmann pointed to the first economic agreements in the small and medium-sized sectors. After talks with Prime Minister Hans Modrow, Haussmann said that the economic talks must proceed more quickly.

He considers this decisive in the shaping of economic relations between the two German states. He said a condition for further progress in the economic cooperation are changes in the currency sphere in the GDR. Haussmann called for freedom of trade, changes in the tax laws and the possibility for people to set up businesses.

In his talks with Haussmann, Modrow spoke of specific agreements in the foreseeable future with the Federal Republic in the large industry sector. Constructive negotiations are also taking place in the building sector, including urban construction.

Haussmann on Talks

LD2301212690 Hamburg DPA in German 1902 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA/VWD)—The GDR is prepared to take up a 6 billion [currency not specified] credit line for medium-sized companies of the Federal Republic to be able to modernize smaller and medium-sized companies and to make it possible for people to set up a business. This was announced by Federal Economics Minister Helmut Haussmann to the press in East Berlin this evening.

After talks with the opposition, the German-German Economic Commission, and a lengthy discussion with Prime Minister Hans Modrow, Haussman said that the government and the opposition agreed on developing the market economy from the bottom up and to go about this in accordance with an ambitious time frame. Important legislation on this road could be passed as early as March and April.

Haussmann named several points in which important progress was apparent. For example, in investments in the GDR by companies in the Federal Republic in the sphere of smaller and medium-sized companies, a Western majority holding should be the rule. The freedom to set up companies should not be restricted to certain branches.

A law on founding employers' associations and a law on chambers of industry and trade are expected by this year's Leipzig Fair. A reform of the banking system is also envisioned to enable financing for businesses being set up. The GDR is also prepared to change the tax law so that small firms are not at a disadvantage.

Commission Statement

LD2301211590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1804 GMT 23 Jan 90

["Text" of statement issued by the Ministry of Foreign Trade on the first session of the joint GDR-FRG commission on further deepening economic relations in Berlin—date not given]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The joint economic commission met for its first consultation in Berlin on 23 January under the chairmanship of Foreign Trade Minister Dr. Gerhard Beil and Federal Economics Minister Dr. Helmut Haussmann.

Its convening is the result of a relevant agreement between the two ministers on 19 December 1989 in Dresden.

The GDR's aim is to make a further contribution to shaping the strived-for treaty-based community with the FRG in the economic sphere.

During the discussion, measures and steps subject to time limits for the expansion of trade and economic relations in 1990 and afterward were dealt with.

Klaus Fischer, state secretary of the GDR Council of Ministers, outlined the progress made in implementing economic reform in the GDR and explained the measures already taken or to be expected to promote trade, business, and medium-sized enterprises in the GDR, for example, on drafting a law on business and lifting license fees for production equipment imports.

Based on consultations between leading economic enterprises of the two German states on 13-14 January 1990 in Rahnsdorf, the two delegations continued their exchange of ideas on economic reform in the GDR and the resulting conclusions for bilateral trade and economic relations. Targets for industrial cooperation were discussed. The two sides spoke out in support of an early start to negotiations on concluding an investment protection agreement.

Minister Dr. Haussmann described the economic concept of the GDR as a step in the right direction. The FRG delegation declared its readines to promote the establishment of small and medium-sized enterprises in the GDR through increasing the special fund of the ERP [European Recovery Program]. This, however, still requires a decision by the legislative bodies of the FRG. An interest in principle was declared by the GDR side. It was agreed to start talks at the expert level on adjusting the allocation of loans for this.

Withiin the framework of the joint economic commission, an energy group that will deal with concepts for joint projects and coordinate energy policy measures, as well as a tourism working group, began work. An agreement was reached on setting up an expert group on agriculture and nutrition.

Minister Haussmann said he is impressed by the sustained and coordinated nature of the steps already introduced by the GDR and short-term steps planned to implement economic policy ideas, especially for private crafts and trades and medium-sized enterprises.

The two ministers praised the positive and constructive outcome of the meeting to media representatives.

First Talks Held With IMF, World Bank

LD2301220690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2103 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Washington (ADN)—The first informal talks between the director-general of the GDR State Bank, Wolfgang Krebs, and leading officials of the IMF and the World Bank took place in Washington today. They centered on preconditions in terms of content and organizations for cooperation with these organizations. Ernest Stern, vice president of the World Bank, and Massimo Russo, European director of the IMF, welcomed the exchange of views and favor closer contacts between their organizations and the GDR.

Advantages, Disadvantages

AU2301180590 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Jan 90 p 2

[Werner Goldstein commentary: "Janus-Headed IMF"]

[Excerpts] On behalf of the Modrow government, initial contacts were recently established with the IMF in Geneva—an institution that is said to have two faces, like Janus, the god of the old Romans.

In the past, we often dealt with the less beautiful rear face, and we want to continue to do so. [passage omitted]

As regards the front side of the Janus-headed IMF, we mostly closed our eyes to it in the past. Let us deal with the affair more realistically. After all, the IMF, as well as the "World Bank," to which currently 152 states belong, not without reason, can offer remarkable things despite many disadvantages, so that this is worth considering. For example, a member can get Western valuta credits up to a certain amount at interest rates that are a little lower than those offered by private banks. Within the IMF framework, contacts with financial and business institutions that may be increasingly important for the export requirements of our republic can be established.

In contrast to this, one of disadvantages of membership might be that a major sum from the already scarce valuta reserves of the GDR would be tied up; or that certain conditions of a "free-market economy" would have to be accepted if the credits exceed the norms; or that the state would have to show its books to the IMF organs. But why should we not also permit this since we are now ourselves condemning the window dressing of our balance sheets?

My opinion is: While preserving our sovereignty, let us put it to the test and let us examine the two sides of the Janus-headed IMF despite conflicting emotions.

Modrow, Hamburg Mayor Discuss Cooperation

LD0501113190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1010 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR will do everything to secure the conditions needed for cooperation with the FRG firms on a broad basis, said Prime Minister Hans Modrow in Berlin today in a talk with Dr. Henning Voscherau, first mayor of the free and Hanseatic city of Hamburg. At the same time he expressed his government's expectation that the FRG will grant start-up aid for a rapid economic upsurge in the GDR. In this connection, Modrow referred to the investment protection agreement that will be submitted to the next People's Chamber session. He also hopes for further impulses for economic cooperation from his second meeting with Federal Chancellor Kohl, which could take place in February.

Henning Voscherau referred to Hamburg city's intention to participate in the cooperation and consultations surrounding the reform process in the GDR by bringing in expertise. The working and living conditions in the GDR should, as a result, be rapidly and visibly shaped in a more attractive way so people will remain in the GDR. As a pivot in Europe between East and West, Hamburg can become the entry point for Western technology into the GDR. During the talk, projects such as the expansion of the Hamburg-Berlin railway link and a direct Hamburg-Berlin-Schoenefeld air route were discussed. Voscherau said he hopes cooperation will come about. At the beginning of next week, a 70-person economic delegation from Hamburg and a Senate delegation under his leadership will travel to Saxony to set up concrete cooperation projects.

Voscherau is accompanied by a number of economic experts, including former FRG Economics Minister Professor Karl Schiller.

New 'Generous' Customs Regulations Outlined

AU2112141289 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 19 Dec 89 p 3j

[Klaus Bishoff article: "More Generous Customs Regulations"]

[Text] More generous customs regulations will come into force at the beginning of the new year. BERLINER ZEITUNG has obtained information from the Customs Administration on details of the rules that will be in effect until the end of 1989 and of the new regulations.

On 1 January 1990 the ban on the import of television and video equipment, videocassettes, copying machinery, and second-hand articles will be lifted. Permission fees will be abolished for objects that the traveling person imports legally or for his personal use. This does not apply to motor vehicles.

The importing of a limited number of goods continues to be prohibited for persons crossing the border. This includes firearms, narcotics, poison, radio transmitters and receivers, as well as living animals, if the persons have not been granted exemptions.

This also applies to topographic maps, official documents belonging to third persons, radioactive material, and other articles that an average citizen would not take with him. The import of stamps continues to be banned as well, with the exception of small amounts that are considered souvenirs.

There will be no change in the regulations on the import and export of GDR currency. This means that the person traveling must import the same amount that he possessed when leaving the country. This sum—no more than M300—is intended to cover expenses immediately after the person's return. There are generous regulations governing the export of convertible currencies, such as FRG currency. The customs authorities naturally proceed from the assumption that GDR citizens have more Western currency than they were able to change at the state bank. This means that they can take along more Western currency to the FRG or West Berlin to spend in the shops there. What is important is that the GDR citizens who come back provide correct information on the amount of currency, verbally or in writing, unless the customs officials let them pass without examination.

Despite the fact that the new customs regulations will not take effect before the beginning of the new year, officials are already being generous at this point. This was stressed by the Customs Administration, and practical experience at the borders testifies to this. Thus, the importing of dailies, weeklies, and monthlies, radio and television magazines and other magazines is no longer banned. This does not apply to fascist, neo-fascist, or pornographic publications, or to documents propagating brutality. This also concerns videocassettes.

State Security Department Gives Evidence

AU2301212290 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Jan 90 p 3

[Heidi Diehl report: "Wrong Assessment of Situation Was Principle"]

[Excerpts] In front of the temporary investigation committee on the events of 7 and 8 October, Egon Krenz admitted that he was also politically responsible for having permitted a wrong political assessment of the situation in the country for years. He categorically rejected any misdemeanor as defined by the law. [passage omitted]

The Security Department of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany was not a branch of the Ministry for State Security, Wolfgang Herger [director of the Security Department] stated. Orders were also not coordinated with it. There was a direct connection between Honecker and Mielke. Around 7 October, Herger had only had contacts with former People's Police President Friedrich Dickel and Rudi Mittig, deputy minister for State Security. They agreed that they would not permit a further escalation of the situation. He still cannot understand why violent acts were, nevertheless, committed because there had been no orders for the use of violence. In answer to a question, Herger said that he still cannot believe that rowdies who had been summoned from the ranks of the civilian security forces had mingled with the demonstrators to whip up emotions. Such a thing is not in line with the image of our police, he said. [passage omitted]

People's Chamber Committee Questions Schabowski

LD2301233290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2155 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The ad hoc investigatory committee of the People's Chamber on examining misuse of office and corruption continued its work today with a hearing on Guenter Schabowski, former Politburo member and first secretary of the Berlin Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Area Executive, and for a short while also Central Committee secretary responsible for media. The conduct of the press and those who made decisions on the work of the media did not conform with the Constitution, said Schabowski. "The party's claim to leadership was so deeply implanted in the consciousness that one did not worry unduly about real press freedom for those who had something to say."

Schabowski said that he had been aware of a state of disatisfaction in and with the media, even in his last years as chief editor of NEUES DEUTSCHLAND (until 1985). "Then it dawned on me," but only "with the beginning of the development of a different policy, perestroyka," did a process of internal struggle, a "process of reflection," begin in the party's editorial staff and basic organizations. "Everything was more or less dictated by a self- justifying propaganda." Whenever mistakes occured this mechanism became noticeable, Schabowski said, for there were to be no mistakes. His relationship with Joachim Herrmann, the Politburo member responsible for the media, had a cooperative character for many years, "but our relations worsened with the insistent way he dictated headings, placings, and the formulation of reports."

Schabowski said, however, that there had been no major differences of views on SED policy, only about "how, in a primitive fashion, journalistic norms of behavior were being implemented" that "restricted and strangulated any scope for maneuver for editors." In response to a further question on media work, he said: Every day a discussion took place between Honecker and Hermann "on the doings of the daily papers." This system was "polished down to the last detail." In Schabowski's view, there was very little opportunity to carry out anything else, since "this would have been the end of the journalistic activity of the person in question." On taking office, Honecker himself had "chosen the media and state security as political spheres," said Schabowski. In NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, in particular, he intervened "right down to the last detail," and had sketches of pages 1 and 2 brought to him every day. Honecker organized "his" pictorial newspaper on the Leipzig fairs himself. "Out of fairness, everyone should have a picture of themselves." All this was more than embarassing, as NEUES DEUTSCHLAND was put into a ridiculous position. In the course of time, "models" took shape so that at times "formalities predominated and line padding was practiced." Schabowski added that "formalism, the over-emphasis of irrelevancies, and the contrast between appearance and reality" became increasingly apparent during his period in office. However, he had never brought up problems of the press in the Politburo. It would have been to no avail anyway because "explanations were invented for mistakes that repeatedly demonstrated that we are good."

Deputies asked Schabowski why subsequently, as Berlin SED Area first secretary, he had not called for the solution of problems more urgently. He had tried, said Schabowski, but "it all merely had the effect of easing the situation under the cheese cover." His mistake had been to be satisfied with these circumstances. Only in the summer of 1989 had he been seriously aware that "the tree was dying." The party "had at times the appearance of a religious order and one had to believe the pearls of wisdom." This made the process of realization more difficult for many comrades.

Schabowski denied that the Ministry of State Security had often played a role in the Politburo. "On the one hand, Honecker and Mielke were great hunting pals, but on the other, there was always a latent tension." Honecker always complained that "Mielke was not clever enough" and even "clumsy."

Arrest Warrant Issued for Ex-Leipzig Mayor

LD2301162990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1429 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—The area state attorney applied for an arrest warrant against former Leipzig Chief Mayor Dr. Bernd Seidel on Tuesday at the district court in Leipzig. Seidel is suspected of electoral falsification and of a serious case of disloyalty to the disadvantage of socialist property.

Bernd Seidel resigned as chief mayor on 3 November last year.

NDPD Chairman Announces Resignation

LD2301162290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1525 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD] Chairman Wolfgang Glaeser announced his resignation in Berlin today. Glaeser said at a discussion that he does not want to be and could not be personified as the right wing in the party, as had happened, however, as a result of his final speech at the 14th party congress last weekend. He had publicly distanced himself Monday from his final speech. His platform is the report of the main committee.

The party congress will have to continue, in the short term, on this basis and on the approved election platform. He is resigning exclusively in the interests of the party, its political credibility, and predictability at home and abroad. Participants assured Glaeser of their respect for his responsible decision.

The party congress will continue in closed session on Sunday, 11 February, in the Berlin Kongresshalle. [passage omitted]

40,000 Demonstrate Against SED-PDS

AU2301212490 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 17 Jan 90 p 1

[NZ report: "Appeal for Election Alliance Against the SED-PDS"]

[Excerpt] Dingelstaedt—The Eichsfeld region is steering a clear course against the Socialist Unity Party of Germany—Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS]. The future-oriented positions of the renewed Christian Democratic Union have met with wide support. This was proved impressively once again at the demonstration of the people of Eichsfeld, the largest such demonstration to date, which took place on Monday night [16 January] in Dingelstaedt. Following a peace service in the church of the Franziscan monastery, some 40,000 citizens from the two Eichsfeld districts demonstrated against the SED-PDS, for the complete disbandment and loss of power of the former state security, for the consistent continuation of the process of democratization in our country, and for the unification of the two German states. [passage omitted]

SED-PDS Media Commission Established

AU2301193890 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Jan 90 p 2

[ADN report: "Media Commission of the SED-PDS Executive Committee"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Media Policy Commission of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] was established in Berlin on Wednesday [17 January]. Its four working groups will deal with questions of public relations of the party's executive committee, media policy, problems of advertising, and the work of the communication and information center in the house of the party's executive committee. Reportedly, recommendations to the SED-PDS Executive Committee were developed at its first conference. The commission is headed by Lothar Bisky, member of the SED-PDS Presidium.

'Half-Hearted Break' With Past Criticized

AU2301211290 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Jan 90 p 1

[Gerd Prokot editorial: "Symbolism"]

[Text] On the front wall of the former Central Committee building at Werderscher Markt, only some holes and a brighter spot in the plastering remind us of the fact that this was the place of the party emblem—the two hands grasping each other, surrounded by the letters "Socialist Unity Party of Germany." The emblem, which symbolized the handshake of Wilhelm Pieck and Otto Grotewohl at the merger of the Communist Party of Germany and the Social Democratic Party of Germany in April 1946, originally had a good meaning.

It was lost as Stalinist elements and structures spread and gained the upper hand in the party. The social democratic root dried up and was increasingly denied.

The denial of its historical origin is part of the heritage that seriously burdens the party. While it is true that at its special congress in December the party acknowledged social democracy as one of its roots and opened up to social democratic value concepts, many people view this only as lip service.

Large sections of the people still equate the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] with the former SED, which was marked by Stalinist structures. One of the sources fostering distrust is its half-hearted break with the past. Even though the party adopted a new name and a new statute in December, it continues to "sail" under the old flag, meaning the abused symbol. And many of those who abused it wore it in their lapel before the People's Chamber investigation commission and the party arbitration commission. By breaking with them, and by dropping the symbol, the party has carried out two necessary acts.

Carnations Congress Elects Officials

LD1401030890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1852 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At the conclusion of their founding congress in Berlin today, the Carnations elected a provisional executive, which is to conduct business until the first regular congress this spring. Dresden teacher Brigitte Kahnwald has become chairwoman of the GDR's new Marxist party. The deputy chairmen are Michael Czollek from Berlin and Reiner Bartscher from Halle.

* FRG Daily Lists Opposition Parties, Groups

90EG0114A Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 12 Jan 90 p 3

[Editorial: "The SED Knows How to Use the Opposition's Fragmentation"]

[Text] The impatient chant "We are the people" on the streets of the GDR has been making its presence felt since September of last year in a wide variety of opposition groups, reform movements, and parties. In the weeks before the election of the Chamber of the People, it is becoming more and more difficult to keep in perspective. The SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany], which added "Party of Democratic Socialism" (PDS) to its name at an extraordinary party congress in East Berlin, knows how to take full advantage of this fragmented situation under the leadership of its Chairman Gysi. With new statements of platform policy, and a new sense of purpose, the four old bloc parties and coalition partners of the SED, the Eastern branch of the CDU [Christian Democratic Union], the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany (LDPD), the National Democratic Party of Germany (NDPD), and the Democratic Farmers' Party of Germany (DBD), are trying to make a good showing. Of all of them, however, only the Eastern branch of the CDU and the LDPD have discontinued their work in the "Central Democratic Block" under the leadership of the SED.

Six opposition groups and parties that are also represented at the roundtable in East Berlin have formed a campaign coalition for the election of the Chamber of the People, and they intend to present a common platform and a single slate. A corresponding "Declaration of the Opposition Movement of the GDR on the Election Coalition 90" was agreed to by the Social Democratic Party in the GDR (SDP), the "New Forum," the "Democratic Start," the citizens' movement "Democracy Now," the "Initiative for Peace and Human Rights," as well as the United Left, which subsequently withdrew from the coalition, however.

Since September 1989, the following groups and parties have formed in the GDR:

Citizens' Movement Democracy Now. In an "appeal to become involved in matters of self-concern" made last September, the citizens' movement called for a bond to be forged between Christians and critical Marxists. It was said that socialism had to find "its real, democratic form if it was not to be lost in the tide of history." It was said that the basis for this should be a "democratic restructuring in the GDR," which would include, among other things, legal reforms and a new policy toward the media. In mid-December, the group presented a three-step plan for German unity, which calls for a plebiscite on the question of national unity for Germany after political reforms in the GDR have been carried out.

Christian Social Party of Germany (CSPD). Politically between the West German CSU [Christian Social Union] and CDU, the CSPD is taking up the cause of private property, a social market economy in the GDR, and human rights. In terms of its policies on Germany, it supports Kohl's 10-Point Plan. Its expects particularly heavy support from the skilled workers and farmers in the GDR in the May elections.

Democratic Start (DA). Since the DA's first party congress in Leipzig in mid-December, this party, which has been considered a sort of catch-all party, has been engaged in heated debate on the Germany question, social issues, and economic policies. Mr. Schnur, an attorney, was named party chairman at its founding caucus, and he has gone to considerable lengths to establish contact with the CDU and the CSU in the Federal Republic. In a "Leipzig Program," the DA strongly favors the "Germans' right to unity," which would ultimately lead to a federal form by way of a confederation of states. The "vision of a socialist society" was stricken from its platform in favor of a social-ecological market economy. The left wing of the party, which is centered around Mr. Schorlemmer, the theologian, wanted more attention to be paid to "eco-social forces" from the initial caucus in Leipzig onwards. Mr. Schorlemmer, the deputy chairwoman of the Party, Ms. Schroeter, and the Press Secretary, Ms. Ziller, want to break away from the DA and join the Social Democratic Party of the GDR (SDP).

"The Carnations" intend to consolidate themselves this weekend as a party with a Marxist platform. According to the spokesman of the founding group, Mr. Czollek, "The Carnations'" platform is based not only on the writings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, but also on those of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. The party does support a market economy, but in order to "assure that the peoples' needs are met," it wants to continue to adhere to "social planning of the economy."

Progressive Peoples' Party (FVP). The FVP was founded on the 14th of December, with the goal of creating a confederation of all parties and groups in the GDR that want to have nothing to do with further socialistic experimentation and favor a market economy, a neutral Germany within its current boundaries, freedom, and democracy. The FVP will hold its platform convention in Potsdam on the 27th of January.

Free Democratic Union (FDU). The FDU, which was founded in Rostock on the first of December, 1989, envisions itself as a middle-class conservative party in the GDR, which favors, above all else, a social market economy, and German unity. It is looking especially for contacts with the Union Parties in the Federal Republic.

Green Party. In its founding call, at the end of last November, the Green Party in the GDR characterized itself as "ecological, feminist, and free of violence." It calls for immediate measures to be taken in "ecological disaster areas" in the GDR, "general and complete disarmament," the dismantling of the military alliances, and the down-sizing of the National Peoples' Army to

the "lowest necessary defensive level." The "characteristically Stalinistic methods of dealing with people, the economy, and the environment" would have to be overcome, they said.

Green League. The Green Party was organized in the face of opposition from the Green League in the GDR, which sees itself as an umbrella group that exists beyond the realm of party distinctions sponsored by the environmentalist movement in the GDR, and it is in this capacity that it wants to participate in the election of the Chamber of the People. Like the Green Party, the Green League supports ecological restructuring of the GDR, and state aid for "ecological disaster areas."

Liberal Socialist Party. The Party's founding commission characterized the Party as representing the interests of all people in the GDR who are interested "in the establishment of humanistic, democratic, and free socialism".

New Forum. At its delegates' conference in Leipzig, the "New Forum"—by its own estimate, the largest opposition movement in the GDR, with approximately 200,000 members—has now decided not to become a party, but to play a role as a "basically democratically organized citizens' movement." In a platform draft, it calls for a "society rooted in solidarity," in which social justice and pluralism would have to be guaranteed, as well as an ecologically-oriented market economy in the GDR. They said that German partition could only be overcome by means of "a common, European order of peace governed by treaty," and a unified Germany presupposed German neutrality. Within the "New Forum," efforts continue to organize a "German Forum Party" (DFP) on a regional basis.

Party for the Reunification of Germany (PWD). The founding of this party was made public at the beginning of December in Leipzig, a party that "intends, in particular, to address the goal of reunification." To this end, in its founding appeal, the party calls for the restoration of the states of the GDR, "as well as their entry into a confederation of German states." In addition, the PWD calls for a transfer to a social market economy in the GDR and "immediate legal measures to permit the investment of West German capital." Once political unity has been achieved, the party intends to disband.

Social Democratic Party of the GDR (SDP). The first delegates' conference of the SDP, which, by its own estimates, has 32,000 members, is taking place this weekend in East Berlin, where consultations will take place about the party's founding platform. At its founding meeting on 7 October of last year, the Social Democrats, in a preliminary statement, made reference to the "traditions of the democratic socialism of the European Socialists and Social Democrats." The founding caucus elected the historian Ibrahim Boehme as its managing director. According to the statement, the goal of the party is social democracy and an "ecologically-oriented market economy with democratic control of the economic power." In its German policies, the SDP is following the SPD's example; it supports a confederation of both German states, while at the same time recognizing the existence of the two states—a confederation that would be possible at a time "during which the alliances still exist." The Social Democratic "sister party" of the SPD in the GDR was accepted as an observer in the Socialistic International.

United Left. In its "Boehlen Platform," the United Left called for a "leftist, socialistic alternative" in the GDR in September 1989 Later it characterized itself as a collective movement that could extend "from unions and independent workers' interest groups to anti-Fascist groups, independents, the new Communist Party, the confederation of independent socialists, all the way to student circles." At the roundtable, the United Left stood out with its demand that the GDR be established as a constitutional "socialist state of the German nation."

Opinion Poll on Election Preferences

AU0901121590 East Berlin BERINER ZEITUNG in German 4 Jan 90 p 6

[Excerpt] An increasing number of GDR citizen already know which party they would vote for if elections were held now. In a representative poll by sociologists of the Academy of Social Sciences, only 28 percent of those polled said that they do not know whom they would vote for. In a previous poll at the beginning of November, 42 percent were still undecided. However, 7 percent now said that they would not vote. In November, no one said this so explicitly. The following shows the positions of the parties in the voters' favor:

Party	December poll in percent	November poll in percent
National Democratic Party of Germany	2.0	0.6
Christian Democratic Union of Germany	7.9	1.7
Liberal Democratic Party of Germany	2.6	7.9
Democratic Peasants Party	1.6	0.5
Socialist Unity Party of Germany- Party of Democratic Socialism	34.0	31.5
Greens Party	1.0	0.1
Democratic Awakening	2.0	0.5
New Forum	5.8	9.0
Democracy Now	0.4	0.5
United Left	0.7	—
Social Democratic Party	5.4	3.1

[passage omitted]

Roundtable Issues Economic Statement

AU1001153690 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 5 Jan 90 p 3

[Statement by the participants in the roundtable talks and submitted to the government as a recommendation—issued in Berlin on 3 January]

[Text] I.

At its session on 29 December 1989, the economics working group of the central roundtable agreed on the following statement and recommends the participants in the roundtable talks to adopt this as a basis for their work until the elections on 6 May 1990. In line with the first statement of the roundtable of 7 December 1989 on how it views itself, the roundtable is part of the public control over the ecological, economic, and financial development in our country.

Proceeding from this responsibility and in the interest of saving the economic situation from further critical escalation, the roundtable agrees on a grand coalition of reason for the transition period until the elections, with the goal of supporting all immediate measures that stabilize the economy in the interest of the citizens of our country, while preserving social security and ecological requirements, as well as contributing to regulations for working out economic reforms.

A precondition for this cooperation is the clear and open publicizing of the economic, ecological, and financial situation of our country in line with the demand of the roundtable of 7 December 1989 and the provision of timely information before important economic and financial decisions are taken by the government.

II.

The serious economic situation requires short-term, courageous and immediately effective stabilizing and democratizing measures that are socially secured and ecologically compatible.

Remembering the aforementioned demands and preconditions, the roundtable calls for immediate regulations on the following measures:

1. Safeguarding a continuous economic reproduction process, in particular

—for stable energy supply during winter;

—secure transportation;

—steady production;

—to safeguard supplies of food to the population and to safeguard spring cultivation;

—to safeguard elementary services; as well as

—to observe the internationally agreed economic contracts and thus ensure liquidity toward foreign creditors.

2. Changing retail trade prices with the goal of reducing and redistributing subsidies, which counters waste and thus ensures a social balance.

In this connection, balancing measures that are linked to individual persons are to be implemented gradually.

3. More far-reaching steps to safeguard the stability of the currency under the conditions of visa-free travel and corresponding agreements with the FRG.

4. Establishing the independent juridical and economic responsibility of the economic units in all forms of ownership, with a regulating influence by the democratic state.

This includes:

—the transition to self-financing on the basis of clear legal regulations, also as a precondition for the implementation of the performance principle in the economic units;

—the promotion of the representation of interests of the staff by shop stewards and trade unions;

—the development of forms of personal and collective participation of the working people in the economic results;

—the opening up toward the international division of labor by establishing cooperation relations in the most varied forms. Foreign dominance is to be excluded in the case of the participation of international capital;

—gradual restriction of correlated targeting and transition to the regulation of economic behavior of an enterprise via the market, establishment of social framework conditions by the state, and control through economic means;

—the ensuring of the flexibility and mobility of the working people, while safeguarding the right to work, as well as the readiness to work, and the creation of possibilities for retraining while safeguarding social security;

—the safeguarding of the individual and of personal data (cadre files) in enterprises and in the society.

5. Working out social plans and establishing social funds on the social and enterprise level that, at the very least, have the aim

—of ensuring jobs for working people who are laid off as a result of administrative reductions, rationalization measures, and structural changes in enterprises and institutions, without discrimination, and ensuring retraining and social security for them. For this purpose, the legal and financial possibilities of the labor exchange offices are to be considerably expanded;

—of ensuring the priority redistribution of freed financial means that affect purchasing power for the benefit of people who have minimum or low incomes, with

special consideration to raising social welfare allowances and minimum pensions;

—of establishing economically based income proportions;

—of preventing all violations of the valid labor and social laws of the GDR in all enterprises and institutions;

—of introducing uniform regulations for the payment of transitional allowance if one changes one's job because of structural changes or rationalization measures.

6. Attributing foreign trade activities to the combines and enterprises and expanding the leeway for action in the use of valuta shares.

7. In the formation of a market economy in the GDR, the establishment of an open uniform tax system for the enterprises of all forms of ownership is considered to be very important. In this way, the overcentralization of funds is to be reduced and the excessive redistribution of means is to be abolished. The basis for revenues of local budgets is to be raised and made stable.

8. Framework conditions, which have to be guaranteed by the state, to raise the efficiency of the economy through a much more intensive concentration on strategic tasks, economic structure policy and social policy, including a new energy concept as an essential part of the ecological restructuring of the economy.

9. The establishment of legal regulations for the promotion of private initiatives for cooperative and private crafts, as well as small and medium-sized private enterprises in the economy.

10. Natural resources have to be secured as national property. They can be released for use only in form of a trusteeship. Land, under all forms of ownership, must not be sold to foreigners. The right to use must be formulated in such a way that this principle cannot be undermined.

The roundtable expects the government to include its economics working group in the preparations for basic work to reform our economy, and expects that timely information will be provided on new projects, and that new projects and work results will be publicly reported.

Farther-reaching measures for economic reform, which go beyond this material, will be submitted to the roundtable after they have been dealt with by the working group.

The roundtable accepts the offer by the People's Chamber and the government to participate in the work of committees and working groups on economic questions, and expects that its representatives will also be included in international economic negotiations.

Government Spokesman on Shorter Military Service

AU1001165990 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Jan 90 pp 1,2

[ND report: "New Regulations on Basic Military Service: Only 12 Months Now"]

[Text] East Berlin (ND)—The agenda of the GDR Council of Ministers on Thursday [4 January] contained more than 20 items. The session served the preparation for the People's Chamber session next week. At an international news conference, government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer announced that Premier Hans Modrow will make a "very important statement" before the People's Chamber. He did not want to give any more details on this.

Military reform: Lieutenant Colonel Uwe Hempel, press spokesman of the Defense Ministry, reported on new regulations on military service. The new military service law, which will be worked out in January and will be put up for public discussion, envisions, among other things, basic military service lasting 12 months. Temporary service will amount to 24 months. Drafting of eligible men will take place in line with the territorial principle, and the draftees will be 18 to 23 years old. Soldiers who are currently doing basic military service for the third half-year will be released from active military service early on 26 January 1990. Further releases of men doing basic military service will take place early after 12 months.

A draft law on alternative military service has also been worked out. Alternative military service will be the responsibility of the minister of labor and wages in the future. The draft law envisions a service period that is 6 months longer than basic military service.

Neo-Nazism: Government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer noted that the government is taking this development very seriously. He announced measures that will counter the dangers of neo-Nazi machinations. The interior minister had pointed out that a step, which had been demanded at the roundtable, namely to decide on protection of the Constitution only after the elections, would cause irreparable damage.

Lieutenant General Helmut Nedwig, head of the Criminal Investigation Main Department in the Interior Ministry, referred to the extensive reports on this problem by NEUES DEUTSCHLAND and confirmed the facts cited there.

Antifascist actions such as the one in Berlin-Treptow on 3 January are decisive to counter such processes. DAILY TELEGRAPH asked whether the fact that the Republicans are not considered hostile to the Constitution in the FRG does not restrict cooperation with the responsible bodies in the FRG. Lt. Gen. Nedwig: I agree.

Bridging money: Inquiries by citizens were the reason for the government to again state its position on decision

about the social security of employees of the state organs. The Council of Ministers supports the trade union's position, which was published on Thursday. The regulations correspond with the stipulations of the Labor Code. In revising the Labor Code, the goal is that bridging money is to be paid in the future in all cases of structural changes for losses in income for 1 to 3 years.

The minister of labor and wages will soon give the details to the press. Concerning the regulations for former members of the National Security Office, the legal standpoint will be reexamined by the government as a result of the discussion of today's meeting.

People's Chamber session: The Council of Ministers discussed the revised draft of the travel law, which the interior minister will discuss before the People's Chamber. In order to facilitate the founding of enterprises with foreign participation, the government will present to the People's Chamber a proposal for changing the Constitution.

The draft of a new law on citizenship was also discussed, which corresponds to Article 15 to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948. In the future, it should no longer be possible to withdraw citizenship at will; the right to change one's citizenship will be set down. The government rescinded the subordination of the Worker-Peasant Inspectorate to the Council of Ministers, and proposes to subordinate the Inspectorate to Parliament and to transform it into a committee of people's control.

Protection of the consumer market: Temporary measures to prevent the speculative use of services and repair services by foreign citizens have been decided. Upon inquiry, government spokesman Meyer explained that these measures are prophylactic measures; so far no such cases have occurred. The reasons behind the decision are the high subsidies for many services, such as hair care, shoe repairs, laundries, and cleaning services.

In the future, multiple and collected orders will be accepted only if an identity card is presented. Internationally usual services, individual orders, help during tourist trips and longer stays in the GDR will not be restricted.

Foreign trade enterprises: The Council of Ministers decided to gradually make these enterprises directly subordinate to the industrial ministries or to the directors general of combines.

Moving out of Wandlitz: Responding to a corresponding question, Wolfgang Meyer announced that all persons who currently still live in Wandlitz have been given apartments elsewhere, and have thus been provided with the opportunity to leave the forest settlement during January. So far the Honecker, Sindermann, and Axen families have not accepted the offers for apartments.

Government To Receive State Bank Loan

LD0501121690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1038 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Government is to receive a stopgap loan with the State Bank due to the serious problems in the state budget. The budget is likely to show a deficit of 5 to 6 billion marks for 1989, Finance Minister Uta Nickel stated before the relevant People's Chamber committee.

"Stopgap loans have already existed in the GDR," GDR State Bank President Horst Kaminskiy said in an ADN interview. "It is not unusual for the current expenditure not to be fully covered at all times and for short-term loans to be taken up. However, what is new is that, according to existing assessments in the calculation of the 1989 state budget, as announced in the People's Chamber committee, a deficit running into the billions will appear as a result of the complicated economic situation in the country."

The stopgap loan will ensure that state budget obligations of all statutory payments—from the first day of the new year onward—can be made on time, Kaminsky said. This includes the payment of investments, scientific and technical measures, and finances for the health service, education, and other social concerns of the citizens.

The stopgap loan could not, of course, close the gap in the budget, Kaminsky said. "In connection with the submission of the final annual budget accounts for 1989, to be expected in the second quarter, it is up to the government to prepare proposals for balancing the state budget and submit them to the People's Chamber for consultation and endorsement."

The loan, which is short term, will be granted until the final submission of the state budget. It will be subject to a 5 percent interest rate.

Government Deplores Transcaucasian Situation

LD2301200890 Budapest MTI in English 1738 GMT 23 Jan 90

["Government Statement—Trans-Caucasian Development"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, January 23 (MTI)—The Government of the Republic of Hungary, the Hungarian public is following the Caucasian developments with growing anxiety. These events have taken a tragic turn, and have resulted in serious loss of lives. As a country that neighbours the Soviet Union, and belongs to the same alliance system, it is not indifferent for us that the political efforts taken so far to settle the tense situation there have not yielded results as yet, and that this has forced the leadership of the Soviet Union to temporarily resort to the use of armed forces.

We express our hope that the policy of Gorbachev's perestroyka, which has set the aim of renewing Soviet society, its comprehensive democratization and the reform of its economy, will be able to attain the solution of the national-minority problems that had been unsolved for decades and which today have surfaced in the more open atmosphere. This is the road that leads to opening the democratic possibility of self-realization for all peoples and ethnic minorities of the region. This implies the intensification of solidarity between the peoples of the Soviet Union as well as the advancement of cooperation between the nations and the minorities.

The Hungarian Government and the Hungarian public consider the policy of Gorbachev's perestroyka as a factor which, together with the new political way of thinking and the renewed Soviet foreign policy, shares in the building of a unified Europe, in the creation of a world based on common human values and cooperation.

We Hungarians, following from our history and the common history of the neighbouring peoples, are well familiar with the weight and dangers of unsolved national-minority issues, and are confident that problems of the peoples of the Caucasian region will be solved by relying on the possibilities opened by Gorbachev's perestroyka and in cooperation with the other peoples of the Soviet Union, amidst democratic frameworks.

Government Statement on Suspected U.S. Spy

LD2301221590 Budapest MTI in English 2050 GMT 23 Jan 90

["Foreign Ministry Statement on Conrad Affair"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, January 23 (MTI)—Laszlo Kovacs, undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, summoned on Tuesday Mark Palmer, ambassador of the United States of America to Budapest, and told him the following on behalf of the Hungarian Government:

The Hungarian Government regards the affair, the main character of which, Clyde Lee Conrad, former sergeant of the U.S. Army, is now facing trial in Federal Republic of Germany, as part of the erroneous policy pursued by the earlier political and military leadership without adequate regard to the country's national interests. The government unambigously disassociates itself from the affair which started about 15 years ago.

The Government of the Republic of Hungary considers it a basic duty to guarantee the country's security, but it deems this permissible only with the use of methods which are not detrimental to the relations between the Republic of Hungary and other countries. It expects all other countries having ties with Hungary to adopt the same attitude.

The under-secretary of state also informed of the above Alexander Arnot, ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany. He requested both ambassadors to immediately forward the position of the Hungarian Government to their own governments.

MTI's (?background information) to the Foreign Ministry statement:

News agency reports last autumn said that Clyde Lee Conrad, former sergeant of the U.S. Army, was arrested in the Federal Republic of Germany in August 1988. Conrad was recruited in 1974 by Hungarian-born Zoltan Szabo, who emigrated to the United States in 1956 and entered into contact with the Hungarian Secret Service in 1967. Conrad and Szabo stole and copied documents, including NATO operational plans for the event of a war against the Warsaw Treaty, as well as the detailed description of action schedules covering nuclear weapons, troops, tanks and aircrafts.

Horn Discusses 'Attack' on MSZP

LD2401094990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0545 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Interview with Foreign Minister Gyula Horn by reporter Tibor Hollauer in the Parliament Building in Budapest; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Begin recording] [Hollauer] I don't know, Gyula Horn, whether you agree with the evaluation of Interior Minister—now former Interior Minister—Istvan Horvath, according to which some kind of organized attack is under way by opposition against the Hungarian Socialist Party's [MSZP] members of government, the objective of which is that after free elections they should, if possible, no longer participate in political life as some kind of force.

[Horn] Look, I do sense the attack, and in fact I am not even surprised by it. It is obvious that today rival parties do attack potential opponents. It is completely natural.

The question, however, is with what methods. And I would draw attention rather to what Premier Miklos Nemeth said in his report: that the contest should take

place with decent methods, in a normal style, and in such a way that it does not degenerate into a vendetta.

[Hollauer] I think that if I claim that there are indeed those who launch attacks against Imre Pozsgay, who is likewise an MSZP Presidium member, in other words that some kind of political attack is under way against him as well, then it is not far from the truth. Meanwhile, I think the conclusion is logical that Gyula Horn will also be served up, isn't that so?

[Horn] Doubtless everybody will be served up, presumably anyway. [words indistinct]

[Hollauer] That is to say, as MSZP members?

[Horn] Or even as members of the government. Because, as a matter of fact, in the elections there is quite a large number of those who at all costs strive to discredit people, disregarding the merits which, for example, Imre Pozsgay has had, personal merits, in the turnabout which has taken place in this country. By now these merits are no longer mentioned here; on the other hand they reproach him for being a member of the MSZP leadership or Presidium, or for having done this or that thing in this or that way. That is something that can always be argued about, and anyone can be criticized about it.

Incidentally, the Socialist Party today is such that its leaders and its members, too, argue with each other as well. And there is nothing extraordinary in this, since this is what we had wanted to attain by bringing the new party into being, that there should be freedom of opinions and platforms.

[Hollauer] The result of this, for example, has been that Miklos Nemeth has also resigned his Presidium membership in the party. Are you not also turning this over in your mind?

[Horn] Look, I am not turning this over in my mind. One thing is certain, that if by some chance the internal relations within the party, or the internal relations within the leadership, became such that for me they are untenable; in other words, if they were to try to force something on me, albeit in the form of a decision, which for me is unacceptable, then obviously I would leave the leadership. But I would like to add something to this: it would change nothing in my commitment, my commitment as a left-wing thinking and feeling person; and what has always interested me, and it still interests me today, is what can be done in the interest of the decisive majority of the population.

[Hollauer] Can one evaluate as confidence-shaking that pronouncement of Ivan Vitanyi on behalf of the MSZP Presidium—I don't really know what to call it, since I don't know how far this was a corporate stance—that given certain conditions the MSZP will withdraw its members from the government?

[Horn] I consider this personal opinion of Ivan Vitanyi as quite odd and, I have to say, incomprehensible. Because as far as I know the Presidium did not take a stand on this; I was not present at the Presidium session, I was dealing with other tasks. That is Ivan Vitanyi's personal opinion. I am sorry that he did not ask the members of the government about this, because what he asserted here can in practice not be carried out. It is not the Socialist Party that (?gave birth to) or brought this government into being, and it did not delegate anyone into this government. There is no question of this. It was the head of government who recommended the individual government members to parliament, thus myself, too, last May, and parliament elected us government members by a secret vote. This has nothing to do with the Socialist Party.

[Hollauer] In other words, the Socialist Party, or the Presidium, cannot dispense with the government's MSZP members, or Presidium members.

[Horn] Not in any way whatsoever.

[Hollauer] But is it absolutely certainly so? Because as a matter of fact I don't know whether legally...

[Horn] As far as I am concerned that is absolutely how it is. Not merely because we have declared that we wish to serve the nation's interest, as the nation's government, with the authorization of the National Assembly, with the confidence of the National Assembly. But also because, according to our conviction, representing the nation's interests, we must also express equally the endeavors of every sober, striving...the endeavors of every sober party which wants to act in the country's interest. [end recording]

Nemeth Addresses National Assembly

LD2301165390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1123 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Speech by Premier Miklos Nemeth at Hungarian National Assembly in Budapest—live]

[Text] Esteemed House, dear compatriots. By means of this form of address, I would like to emphasize that when speaking to you I would like to address not just you, the people's elected representatives, but also the country's people directly. I am motivated to do this not just by recent events but even more by developments of the weeks ahead of us, which can be foreseen. I am doing this to appeal to you, and also to the forces operating outside the house, and mainly the country's population so that, through common action, we avoid what can be bitterly predicted on the basis of our most recent past.

It has been 3 months to the day that on the basis of our parliament's legislation the Republic of Hungary was proclaimed from the balcony of this House. The people celebrated this with unclouded joy on the square and throughout the country. They did so with joy and rightful pride, hoping—rightly at the time—that through careful preparation of laws, through intelligent interparty agreements, we would peacefully and democratically manage

to realize a heroic historical undertaking. The free elections appeared to be near at hand and easy to attain, there was more confidence and fewer doubts. We saw the objective, and the path appeared passable, not smooth, but passable. Then, some unexpected potholes and some treacherous quagmires appeared along it. This did not just happen of its own accord.

Therefore, a leveling-down of the path consumed much of the energy which we ought to have devoted to progress. I nonetheless thought that everyone believed we could progress only together and with common efforts. Perhaps the government saw better than anyone else how difficult the path was which we were treading, and how heavy the burdens were which we had to carry. It wanted everyone to see this. Therefore, with merciless frankness, we showed this to everyone. Indeed, we said that the government viewed itself as the nation's government, that with its activity it wished to serve the interests not of one or some parties, but the interest of the nation. It did not serve and it did not follow party interests, but it called on every party for an exchange of views and for cooperation. It undertook to govern the country, until the free elections, so that in spite of the extremely grave situation the economy would remain capable of functioning, so that pluralistic democracy would come about through peaceful means, protected with legal guarantees.

The economy's situation is tough; it demands unpopular but undeferrable measures, which constitute heavy burdens. The government was ready to take these, and its resolve was only increased by the fact that the majority of the parties expressly urged this, that the government should not leave the unpleasant operations for its successor, that it should undertake these, and in exchange the parties would not use the economic-social tensions for party- political objectives. It was not for this reason, but with an awareness of this background, that the government undertook the painful operation which unavoidably would have to be performed sooner or later.

It simultaneously made enormous efforts in diplomatic relations, to obtain appropriate support—not for itself but for the country's economy and its future government. It obtained this support to the greatest extent possible, to no small degree through demonstrating that it was not angling for its own popularity, survival, but that it made decisions virtually tantamount to political suicide in order to sort out the country's economy. International trust was also nourished by the fact that in this activity the government found a partner in parliament, which also surmounted, to a considerable extent, its self-interests. This parliament did not stop to admire its own laws of historical significance, but it was ready to tumble from the heights to the depths to help to bring the sinking economy out of the whirlpool and up to the surface. It was a courageous deed, and it was a fine example of how a parliament and government could understand one another, trust one another, that not only could they confer together but they could also break up stones, which is necessary to build roads, to build the road which we have jointly undertaken in the country's interest, until the elections.

Esteemed House, not much remains now from the clear celebration 3 months ago. Nowadays we awaken to foggy days, and the atmosphere is heavily polluted. We gasp for air and look around in fear. Who operates the fog machine here, and who blows the poisonous gases on us? Why do they do this? Not so that we are weakened and do not get as far as the free elections, which will show and create a clear picture? Not so that we are led to believe that democracy is anarchy and disorder; that one who wants order should choose something else? Why do they want to suggest to the people that owing to the method we have chosen for the system's change, which is peaceful, based on consensus, and buttressed by legal guarantees, we have gone from the vanguard to the rearguard of the reforms?

What does it mean, now, to be in the vanguard? Street demonstrations, clashes involving hundreds of thousands, attacks on institutions, and a bloody settling of scores? Is it this in which we perhaps should be in the vanguard? How do they view this, as a race? Not in the hope that a bigger award might await those who are in the vanguard from a certain viewpoint, as regards their objective? Is it not the greatest award for this people if, out of its free will, without the bloodshed and vengeance, through contest but not strife, it can advance to a civilized social order, which is operable and preserves values from the past, too?

Those who complain about our being behind should not forget that we were in the front line in the minefield, that with a caution dictated by instinct we discovered and defused the mines; afterward the others rushed through the passage which had been cleared. We believe that it is difficult to build while in a rush and that it is to be feared that occasionally it is necessary to turn back, in order to make good what has been left out.

Therefore, I believe that the reproach that the process of transition has come to a standstill in Hungary is untrue and reflects defeatism and that the attempt to hurry events through inciting the passions of the masses, to smash up the past and present while insulting the good and the bad, is irresponsible. Of course it is easy to do this, because there is an enormous number of reasons or excuses.

Who will deny that the people's life is difficult and will be so for a while? Who will deny that we have torn down the structure of the party-state, but unfortunately the vestiges under its ruins still live on? Who will deny that there are forces which are pulling back and that there are social injustices? I do not deny these, nor does my government keep this secret from those for whom it works, the people.

However, I deny that it might be possible to master these problems if tension is increased, if dissatisfaction is further incited, if trust in the operating institutions is

shaken, that is if the chances for a democratic transition are thrown into disarray. We are trying to preserve these chances and to achive as much as possible from these.

At a previous legislative session, a fellow deputy said that the people would willingly work but they cannot do so with only one hand since with the other hand they have to hold up their pants which are slipping down. Allow me to add: neither is it possible—or at least it is very difficult—to govern with one hand, if with our other hand we constantly have to wipe away the mud which has been slung into our eyes. I know that it is also difficult to enact laws.

They say: An enormous amount of mud has accumulated. That is true. But I ask: Is it necessary constantly to bend down and sling it into one another's face? Is this the only way to clear it away? I do not believe so, and fortunately, nor do the majority of the people.

My government has undertaken two things, which it knew were no small matters: to preserve the economy's ability to function and safeguard the character of the transition, the peaceful change of system. We expected, on the basis of multilateral consultations, that the parties and other social organizations which were stretching out their hands for power would be partners rather than rivals in this. Apart from a few, we were disappointed in this, but we were enriched with understandings: Currengly in Hungary the parties are competing with one another not through declaring their programs and arguing in favor of these, but through merciless attacks on the government which is still able to function. What accompanies most of these attacks is that, of course, they do not want to cause the government's defeat because their interest is for this government to take the undeferrable measures which place truly heavy burdens on the people.

The government, as is known, has undertaken this. But I ask: Is it seriously believed that in the meantime it will tolerate without a blink of the eye a casting of doubt on its honesty, sincerity, expertise, a frequent treading underfoot of the human dignity of its members, these tasteless insults? I am sincerely pleased that the opposition's loudest forces, those which are best equipped with the tools, already feel that they are able to govern, because the time within which they will have to prove this, if they are given a vote of confidence at the elections, is growing shorter. Obviously, they will use the same arguments as those which they did not accept from this government, that problems which have accumulated over decades cannot be resolved from one day to the next.

Therefore, I say: Let us go ahead, toward a coalition government following the free elections. But why this haste? Is it not possible to wait for the country to get to the elections through a normal channel and at a normal pace, so that it can express its will through its vote in a level-headed manner, without hysterics and panic? We should avoid the predominance of certain suicidal instincts, because there is a suggestion of a suicidal inclination in that in every sphere uncertainty and lack of confidence is artificially incited, an atmosphere of hysteria is aroused, and there are insinuations that the functioning institutions are inoperable, thereby intending to make them really inoperable.

Speaking of constitutionality, law and order, decency, stability, and a peaceful and calm transition, they head mercilessly toward their aims, rocking precisely these values with their efforts and actions. I do not ask for forbearance for myself or for the government. The interest of the country and its people is moderation, so that society is not be swept irresponsibly into an ungovernable state.

Daily they scream into the people's ears that the country is on the verge of collapse; let the people who would really need self-confidence and peace, be afraid and anxious. One might admire that even in this atmosphere of panic, which was created artificially but unfortunately carries very real burdens, the decisive majority of the people are concentrating their attention on work and are working hard and decently with gritted teeth. They deserve recognition and respect and of course a better life, the immediate chance for which they did not gamble away.

It is the signs of a nervous breakdown, not an economic breakdown, which can be seen in many people who do not know how to push through their intentions in the political struggle, according to their own screenplay. Everyone must think through responsibly that progress could not and cannot be made either through ultimatums or through attacks. The kind of correct cooperation is needed where the politically significant factors also undertake the burden which falls on them from the responsibility of difficult measures.

I would also like to say a few words about what we have done and what we can still do, amid harassed circumstances, for the economy to retain its functioning capacity. Really, the question which must be asked is this: What is the basic condition of functioning capacity? Then the reply is simple: Ensuring the continuity of external financing. And our situation is such that now it is indispensable to reach an agreement with the IMF. There is nothing to deny; it is not we who determine the conditions, but these derive from our situation and from the aims which must definitely be pursued.

I say without beating around the bush: The situation is very grave, and the government did not at all overdramatize this during the course of or before the December budget. Anyone who says such a thing is, for some reason, not telling the truth. And this is reprehensible not just from a moral point of view, but also because it creates the impression that demands just have to be made, for there are funds from which to expand social expenditures or raise wages without an increase in performance. And if we were to do this, then we would be

pulling the rug out from under our own feet. My government will not undertake this, just as it will not create conditions which would make the economy's functioning impossible or cause a social explosion. Everybody who wishes to exert pressure [on the government] from this direction must know this, abroad and at home alike.

And I would mention finally, but with great emphasis, that a state administration, public administration professional corps which is professionally well-trained, morally steadfast, loyal to the government, the government of the day, and which feels secure, is needed for functioning capacity. The existence of this is a fundamental condition for the successful functioning, not only of today's government but of the government of the day. For this reason, I would raise my voice again, not only against the ghost of B-listing [B-list was a list of people deemed dispensable in a place of employment] which arises, for it chases today's corps of professionals unjustly and without reason into uncertainty, but also because those who are preparing for a settling of accounts, and not a decent calling to account, threaten the future. But, the elections themselves are threatened if the council apparatus, which plays an important role in holding these, becomes demoralized and melts away because of its uncertain future. Esteemed House, if anyone feels my remarks to be moralizing, I accept the charge for we are in an era where the moral and human attitude is of decisive significance from the viewpoint of the development of our entire future fate. I have lived through the grave contradictions of this in connection with the so-called phone-tapping affair. Because it is no good, the values system changes if the moral attitude and recognition of those who work within it do not make changing the old technology an imperative inner command. If recognition and initiative do not start from within, then the delay will will cause accusations to be leveled against otherwise unarguably necessary functions. It opens up the way to the boundless escalation of personal attacks and accusations. Also for this reason I would like to say a few words about the crisis of internal security work and in this connection about the secret services' situation.

In actual fact it was only the growing independence of the Hungarian State and the government's growing independence, the dismantling of the party-state, which made it possible for the administration to deal in substance with the conceptional issues of the work of interior affairs. In the course of this, the government took as the point of departure that the secret services' number one task, their national duty, is to provide the information which is necessary, but which in the open spheres of life is not accessible. This requires the service's staff members to possess a high degree of intelligence, sensitivity toward society, and absolute loyalty toward the government of the time.

It is simply unarguable that maintaining our counterintelligence and military counterintelligence's ability to function is in the interest of the entire nation. This is of particular significance in the Hungarian internal situation, which has become unstable. The situation is similar regarding civil and military intelligence.

For in the tempestuously changing international situation it is of vital importance that the government and its individual members have access to reliable information about the political and economic concepts connected with our country, as well as about the military and military-political intentions and endeavors affecting us.

The crisis that has evolved in the area of internal security has naturally contributed to our being able to take the planned, and for the large part worked-out, steps in the reorganization at a rapid rate. The most obvious objective is that the age of fear pass once and for all, in other words that the law-abiding citizen should no longer be afraid of secret service tools in this country. For the personal passion of all those people who in previous years were watched, and in some cases harrassed, by the internal intelligence service is humanly understandable. This passion, however, must not be carried over into the attitude vis-a-vis wider-ranging national security activity.

Naturally, the secret service organizations must be depoliticized. The abolition of party direction, the withdrawal of the party from these places has taken place in its full entirety. I am firmly convinced these services are on the way toward becoming functional professional services, free of politics, which function according to the provisions of legality, with parliamentary control, under the immediate direction of the legitimate Hungarian Government of the time.

The internal security service, the old one, has lost its function. It had already lost society's trust. We abolished it. It has to be acknowledged, however, that in 1989 it played a positive role in ensuring the peaceful nature of the transition.

I have no doubt that the new State Security Bureau will not obtain society's trust automatically either. For this reason I think that the new organization, at least for the transition period, can and should take over from the previous internal security functions only the absolutely necessary task, the defense of the Constitution taken in the narrowest sense.

Apart from the soonest possible elaboration of the rules of law relating to this and the establishment of parliamentary supervision, I consider it very important that the special organs to be established should perform unavoidable internal self-examination regarding the content of their work, its system of tools, and their staff's frame of mind. I consider it indispensable that where this has not already happened, leaders of a democratic spirit with national feelings should get into the key positions and that the staff should be refreshed with talented and decent young people, regardless of their party affiliations.

As one of the lessons of the crisis that has erupted we have to note that a role was also played in it by the fact that the practical implementation of the change of concept progressed more slowly than was justified. In this I feel my own responsibility as well. Here, too, the structure of the party-state should have been dismantled sooner; however, now we will do this without delay. We hasten the results of the various examinations, from which we will immediately draw further conclusions.

In the given situation I, too, consider Interior Minister Istvan Horvath's resignation to have been unavoidable. All I would add to what he has said is that as a reform politician he has played a significant role in that the democratic transition is taking place in our country on the basis of constitutional order, in a peaceful way. Thanks are due to him for his merits, as well as for the fact that he has also personally accepted the consequences resulting from the internal security crisis.

Finally, in connection with this topic, I wish to announce that the Council of Ministers, also with regard to the situation that has evolved, is in agreement that the National Assembly should set up a special committee for examining the state security organs' activity. I would consider it expedient if the head of the committee were to be an independent deputy and if the committee were to reflect the National Assembly's political composition. Naturally, the committee will have to perform its work by adapting to the extraordinary character of the topic under examination.

Esteemed National Assembly, I would like to speak briefly about another issue that preoccupies the public and parliament as well: the government stance relating to the withdrawal of the Soviet troops stationed in our country. The government, enjoying the support of the public and parliament, actively urges the total withdrawal of the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary.

On two occasions in the past 6 weeks alone I have had discussions about this with Premier Ryzhkov. We are agreed that the stationing of Soviet troops in Hungary is the consequence of an earlier political and military concept, which by now has been in every regard superseded and which by now is justified neither from a political nor a military viewpoint.

The Hungarian People's Army, also taking its planned reorganization into consideration, is capable and ready to defend the homeland, to guarantee our sovereignty and territorial integrity. It is also able to adequately contribute toward guaranteeing the Warsaw Pact's security. Hungary's strategic and military-geographical situation makes it possible, without in any way endangering our secrity, for the Soviet troops to be withdrawn to the full extent from our country within the shortest possible time.

To elaborate the withdrawal schedule and to settle further issues connected with the matter, Hungarian-Soviet discussions at the level of experts will commence in Budapest in the coming days. Yesterday I received the Soviet premier's message in which he already designated the composition of the Soviet negotiating delegation.

In drawing up the schedule, which according to our intentions will be made public and which will be realiably controllable, the starting point is represented by the period of time technically necessary for an ordered withdrawal. In this, one must also include the amount of time in which the Hungarian People's Army is able to prepare for the new situation that will evolve in the wake of the Soviet troops' withdrawal.

Naturally, the issue's international conditions and all its interconnections must also be circumspectly considered because disregarding the realities could easily have an effect contrary to our intentions. The international conditions of the planned Soviet troop withdrawal are developing favorably. In the past 1-2 years we have witnessed positive developments in the Soviet-U.S., and generally in East-West, relations, as well as in the European processes. Military confrontation has diminished; the picture of the enemy has changed. The Vienna discussions on conventional disarmament and control and confidence- building are progressing in an encouraging way.

Since the success of the Vienna discussions between the Warsaw Pact and NATO's 23 member states is in our interest as well, it seems expedient to take this connection as well into consideration in working out the Soviet troop withdrawal schedule. We have been striving from the outset to play a constructive role in Vienna, consistently representing our national interests and endeavors, and to constructively contribute to the substantive progress of the discussions.

We will inform parliament and the public in an adequate form about the developments connected with the troop withdrawal.

Esteemed House, I hope that, closing an unusual era, in March of this year we will get as far as the free elections in Hungary. After World War II we Hungarians became the slandered of history. We were disparaged; they tried to implant a sense of defeatism, an inferiority complex, in us. In the past year we have shown Europe and the world that even in a difficult situation we can act in such a way as to gain respect for ourselves. This is what I consider to be a gigantic achievement, which can enter the annals of Hungarian history as a turning point.

Even this result can come to nothing if we cannot prevent what was conceived in violence over 40 years ago from passing away now in the same way. It has happened a good many times already in the course of Hungary's history that the Hungarian homeland was destroyed by Hungarians from within, inciting opposition, hatred among the people. This danger now exists as well.

The election campaign has not even begun, but the mood of the preparing political forces has already reached white heat. It is true that the parties now entering the

scene are not responsible for the past. Already from the moment of their existence, however, they are responsible for their words and deeds, for shaping the country's destiny.

Here it now seems that nothing is too expensive. For this reason I would like to commend to the attention of us all that if we really want a democratic transition, we should do it in such a way that in the meantime the political forces and parties do not distance the country from Europe. The proliferation of many kinds of anti-tendencies [anti-iranyzat] could become the source of our own destiny's destruction, which could easily become a national tragedy. With these passions we have no place in a Europe undergoing renewal; they are also alien to the best traditions of Hungarian political culture. We could harm ourselves, the country, if we do not jointly curb the running away of passions.

Esteemed House, when man runs away from his fate he runs to his destruction. This is what they believed in ancient Rome. This government does not want to run away from its fate. It did not choose it by itself, it is true, but it undertook it. Its intention is to stand fast and do everything that it (?can do). It works in the thrall not of power but of the task. It considers its mission that the people should arrive at free elections, where it will elect a new parliament that will appoint a new government. Then my government will take its leave in the knowledge that its time [as heard] has been accomplished; it has fulfilled its role.

My government's members and I, in addition to inner prompting, are committed to the service of the people also by an oath. We wish to act true to our oath to the end. We care for our honor, however, and we adhere to that rather than to power. Thank you for your attention. [extended applause]

Zoltan Kiraly Declares MDF Candidacy

LD2301003490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Zoltan Kiraly will continue to remain independent, but you will hear the details from Zsuzsa Ladanyi.

[Ladanyi] Zoltan Kiraly will take part in the electoral contest in the colors of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]. This was announced this afternoon at Szeged at the news conference of the MDF Csongrad County section. They further stated that the MDF will field candidates in all of Csongrad County's seven individual electoral districts. Zoltan Kiraly is entering the fray for votes in his present electoral district. He said he accepts the spirit of the MDF from the outset, but this does not mean he is willing to give up his independence. He will remain an independent parliamentary representative.

MDF Chairman Antall on Elections, EC

AU2301155690 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 23 Jan 90

["G.H." report on interview with Democratic Forum Chairman Jozsef Antall in Budapest on 22 January: "Antall Expects Coalition Government Under His Leadership"]

[Excerpts] "The German people have a political, historical, and moral right to unite within the present borders of the two German states." This was underlined by Jozsef Antall, chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF). In the parliamentary by-elections the Forum was the most successful party and has good chances of becoming the biggest group in the first free elections in March, and therefore of assuming the leadership in a coalition government. In an interview with this daily, Antall also set the limits of the right to self-determination: "As far as the other territories are concerned, the German people must also respect the current map of Europe. We Hungarians have the moral basis for making such a remark, because we had to cede as much as two-thirds of our state territory and one-third of our population." Thus, Antall, without actually naming it, has dealt with a subject which only a few weeks ago could have become a vital issue in the election campaign, namely the representation of the Hungarian minority's interests, particularly in Romania. Political opponents and augurs have accused the Democratic Forum of nationalist tendencies. The statements by the MDF chairman, who is a historian by profession, leave no room for revisionist ideas and have rendered the speculative reproaches untenable.

Under the leadership of Antall, the Democratic Forum has become a Western European-style party, which is based on earlier national, Christian, social, and democratic Hungarian parties and which has to be placed in the center-to-right segment in the European party landscape. Antall has already emphasized his party's first successes. It was on the basis of the Democratic Forum's program that the Hungarian People's Republic became the Hungarian Republic. By signing the roundtable agreements one succeeded in channeling the government's course, supporting the reform communists around Nemeth against the wing led by Grosz and crushing the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party. [passage omitted]

The question of how the Democratic Forum's foreign policy would differ from that of Socialist Foreign Minister Horn, which has proved to be most successful, is rejected by Antall as such because it is above all a question of future conditions. Horn has represented Hungarian objectives with talent and courage, and thus, his ministry has become the most efficient ministry in the government, Antall said. The continued existence of good Soviet-U.S. relations is the guarantee for the steady situation in the entire East and central European region. "The second determining factor is the idea of European

unification. We are firm supporters of this idea, and unconditionally advocate European integration. We want to prepare ourselves for the Council of Europe and the EC." This is why the Forum regards a bilateral association between Hungary and the EC as important. One can examine EFTA [European Free Trade Association] membership; however, it cannot replace associate EC membership, Antall concluded.

Peasant Party Seeks Central Europe 'Community'

LD1901223590 Warsaw PAP in English 2131 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 19—The Presidium of the Main Executive Committee of the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) adopted during its meeting today two resolutions: on the purposefulness of creation of a community of central Europe which would include Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania and Hungary and on the necessity to annul manipulated elections to the Sejm in 1947.

PSL deputies were advised to present both isues at the forum of the Sejm.

Orzechoweki Endorses Mazowiecki Sejm Speech

AU2301184090 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Jan 90 pp 3, 4

[Unattributed report: "Speech Given by Marian Orzechowski in the Sejm on 18 January"]

[Text] Madam Sejm Marshal! Mr. Premier! Honorable Sejm! The Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Deputies Club welcomes the fact that the premier has chosen to make this speech at the Sejm—a speech that sets out important programmatic guidelines—at this time, over 4 months since the formation of the new government cabinet and 3 weeks after the introduction of an extremely far-reaching program of systemic changes to the state and its economy. We hope that similar periodic appraisals of this type—namely, periodic reviews of the achievements and aims of our government—will become the accepted practice in the work of the Sejm of the Polish Republic.

Of course, it is impossible to fully evaluate and analyze the content and fine detail of the speech delivered today by the premier in the 2-hour break from our normal program of debates. I shall therefore limit myself to some general comments and reflections. What I say now is not, nor can it be, the considered position of the party to which we who are sitting on these benches belong. What I am going to say about the premier's speech can only be an introduction, a first response that was formulated by our deputies club,

Honorable Sejm! We are all fully aware that today's debate is taking place against a dramatic situation that is developing in our society. It is a situation best characterized by the unfading hope that Poland and the Poles will be pulled out of their deep economic crisis, but which is also characterized by the growing anxiety and apprehension about the immediate and the not-so-immediate future of our society and its individuals.

In this context, we reaffirm our position vis-a-vis the government's economic program—a position we articulated on 12 September 1989 and which has subsequently been further elaborated by our deputies in the debates on the whole package of economic legislation; a position which is encapsulated by the phrase "Yes, but," and which has remained substantially unchanged. There is no sensible alternative to the general direction of the changes, especially in relation to the 6-month program to stabilize the economy and reduce our hyperinflation.

That is why we support the words of the premier which have been addressed to our whole society. We must all pull together with hope and solidarity during this very difficult and most probably very painful period of self-denial in the next few months.

It is with mixed feelings that we note the increasing activity of representatives of various political forces, as well as journalists—their results are, regrettably, also to be seen in the pages of TRYBUNA LUDU. These are persons who have suddenly appeared as critics and denouncers of the government's economic program, and who now pretend to be the people who have the only correct solution to our economic problems. This gives rise to the justifiable question: Where were all these people when we had the widespread public discussion about Balcerowicz's program? And where were they when the Sejm was laboriously debating and approving his program?

We fully share your view, Mr. Premier, that a modern state cannot assume the role of a supreme manager of the great state enterprise, and involve itself in all the consequences that would necessarily follow from this. At the same time, we consider that a modern state, particularly our Polish state, cannot limit itself to the role of "night-watchman." By way of digression, if we take this concept literally, then the state is at present not acquitting itself very well in this role. This fact was raised by Deputy Zych in his speech. The state cannot merely play the part of a passive observer in the economic process. We are, of course, fully aware of all the attendant dangers that a full "hands-on" attitude can create within such a sensitive organism as the economy, with all its fields and sectors. But we often have to witness this sort of behavior and this does not always give the best results, because a full "hands-on" involvement can never give the best results.

That is why, when we are oscillating between the devil and the deep blue sea, we consider it essential that the government define its precise role in the management of the economy and that it do so in a more specific way than it has done hitherto. The government should define with much greater precision the required minimum of state intervention that is present in all modern market-type economies, especially in those countries which we have recently been enthusiastically proclaiming as an example for ourselves.

I would like to stress that the PZPR Deputies Club welcomes with particular satisfaction the fact that the premier's speech contained a new term in the government's economic vocabulary: the phrase "social market economy." I hope that the politically resonant word "social" is not merely used for decorative purposes, but expresses the essence and the characteristic of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government. We hope to see more details

about the exact definition of this phrase in the near future. Without having had time to consider the implications of this term, it seems to us that it ought to mean the agreement to accept a package of action and systemic solutions that will provide society with the necessary protective mechanism while it is in the process of passing to a social market economy. The goals of such a package ought to be the prevention of structured unemployment; equality of cultural, educational, and scientific opportunities; as well as the creation of a firm basis—reflecting the real possibilities of the state—of a dignified life for those people who today find themselves on the margin of poverty—namely, the veteran workers, pensioners, and the disabled.

Were we to attain the proposed social dimension within the market economy, this fact would, in the opinion of the PZPR Deputies Club which I represent and on whose behalf I speak, be a confirmation of the fundamental norms of the system which we have created in the amended Constitution, namely: "The Polish Republic is a democratic state, governed according to the rule of law. A state which is implementing the principles of social justice."

We fully support the government's efforts to break up monopolies, because they act as a brake to economic rationalization and development. We are also firmly against the parasitic companies that are popularly known as "nomenklatura companies." The forces of reform in my party have been firmly against such companies for over 2 years now, when this type of company first appeared. We must, however, bring to the public's attention that this phenomenon is not limited to what is known as the "old guard," and we consider that this term ought to be consigned to history.

We fully share the view that everybody has to contribute to the implementation of the stabilization program. This is quite clear. But, it ought to be a contribution that is distributed fairly. The honorable Sejm knows full well, and we who are gathered here today know, that it is only natural and typical for all men to show reluctance when they have to share their property with someone else. This reluctance is greatest when it is accompanied by the belief that one's contribution is disproportionately more than that of other people, and when one has to share one's hard-earned cash without clear criteria governing the division of the whole burden. I appeal to the government and to the deputy premier, Mr. Balcerowicz, to clearly define the principles behind the divisions and the actual division of the total burden. I think that here lies the source of the discontent that is unsettling the whole agricultural sector, and not only the sector of private farmers. We must not forget the other two agricultural sectors whose contribution to our agricultural output is also essential to the country.

The propositions contained in the speech by the chairman of the Polish Peasants Party-"Rebirth" Deputies Club call for profound consideration and thought. They express the view of deputies who belong to our deputies club and are also farmers.

We are fully conscious—I say this with complete conviction—that the fate of the Polish reforms will be decided in the local districts, the towns, and the voivodships. Here I fully share the view of my colleague Onyszkiewicz.

Every deputy on this side of the chamber is bitterly conscious of the fact that all attempts at reform and all initiatives that have been tried since 1956 were dashed against our grass-root conservatism and other group interests. They failed because of the egoisms of local lobbies, cliques, and mafias. These interests have to be destroyed and their influence broken. This is unquestionable.

That is why we support the idea of regional self-government and early local elections. We fully support the premier's view that strong foundations for the democratic system have to be created quickly, but this must not be done too hastily. We do not want to have any nasty surprises. The package of relevant legislation on local self-government has to be exhaustively debated and prepared here in the Sejm. We think that it is appropriate to call an extraordinary commission to ensure that the proposed solutions, contained as I understand it in eight pieces of draft legislation, have some sort of unity. Additionally, we have to create a firm financial basis for the local self-government structure and we must allow for the necessary finance in this year's budget provisions. Otherwise, this self-governing structure will be powerless to do anything, and we all know what "helpless councils" mean....

Finally, the last item. Poland is returning to Europe. We welcome the fact that this much-repeated phrase has taken on a more concrete meaning and true color in the speech made today by the premier, as this fact is very important in the light of the vital changes in the relations with our close and not so close neighbors, and with the whole of Europe. We shall support the government's line in this area as far as we can.

I think the suggestion to create a Council of European Cooperation is an important one, and we anticipate that the Foreign Ministry will soon give this concept a more precise shape and that it will present this suggestion to the other European governments.

While on the subject, I would like to make a remark of a more general nature. It is our hope that Polish foreign policy will be pursued with greater openness than has been the case hitherto, and we hope that our society will be informed about the course of such policy in greater detail and honesty. One has to say that at times the contrary appears to be the case, and matters are often surrounded by an atmosphere of gossip, half-truth, and things which are left unsaid. This threatens what we call the socialized, national nature of our foreign policy.

Honorable Sejm! From this podium our premier has today spoken the following very important words: "We reject revenge and spectacular gestures." I hope that these words will be received with the importance they deserve by all those people who, contrary to the premier's speech of 12 September 1990, still call for "witch-hunts," and by all those who occupy, set fire to, and conspire against property belonging to my party, and call for the removal of PZPR directors simply because they are members of the PZPR. I think that they will wish to consider the premier's words and the implications that lie behind them.

Madam Sejm Marshal! Mr. Premier! Honorable Sejm! In the name of the PZPR's Deputy Club, I declare my party's support for the government's efforts that seek to create a socioeconomic order, a social market economy, a strong and just state that is subject to the rule of law and seeks to implement the principles of social justice, and all its efforts to create a new Europe in which Poland has to find and will find its proper place.

National Assembly Bodies Debate Draft Laws

Sejm Concludes Party Law Debate

LD2001034190 Warsaw PAP in English 2204 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 19—The Sejm (lower house of Polish Parliament) wound up debate on draft laws on political parties. The drafts were sent to the Legislative Commission.

The further part of the Sejm's meeting was marked by a dispute over prerogatives of the Sejm and Senate. The Sejm discussed a draft law amending the law on Constitutional Tribunal. The draft has been meant to grant the Senate the same prerogatives as the Sejm has.

Eventually, the law was passed with 170 in favour, 118 against, and 62 abstentions.

The successive item on the agenda led to the first stalemate in this term of office of the Sejm when the Sejm commissions came out against the Senate's amendments to the draft law changing the penal code.

The Senate wants to make the penal code more liberal. In order to defend its stance the Sejm should have rejected the Senate amendments with a two thirds majority. But there were not enough in favour of rejection.

On the other hand, there were not enough votes in favour of adoption of the Senate amendments with an ordinary majority margin either. So the amendments were neither rejected nor adopted and the legislative procedure must start from the beginning.

Also today the Sejm rejected, with a required majority of more than two thirds of votes, Senate amendments to special principles of terminating labour contracts when a work establishment is to blame for the termination. Jacek Kuron, minister of labour and social policy, was in favour of such a decision.

Later, the Sejm started a discussion over bills concerning cooperatives. The discussion will be continued tomorrow.

Senate Views Local Government Reforms

LD2001094990 Warsaw PAP in English 1009 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 19—At its meeting here today Poland's Senate considered a number of draft laws reforming local self-governments. The proposed amendments aim, among other things, at restoration of local communities as fully independent, self-governing districts. A mayor would be the head of a municipal community and a county chief (wojt) of a rural one.

The planned reforms require amendments to be made in the Constitution, namely the elimination of the notion of "people's councils" from it.

The Senate firmly came out in favour of an electoral law based on the majority system. There is a suggestion as well to supplement the electoral law with a provision enabling the minorities to put forward their own lists of candidates.

The expiry date for the term of office of the present people's councils was set for April 30.

The Senate elected Senators Ryszard Juszkiewicz and Lech Koziol as its representatives to the National Judiciary Council.

Sejm Debates Cooperatives Law

LD2101011990 Warsaw PAP in English 2240 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 20—Does a shoemaker in the countryside really need a chief manager in Warsaw? This question was asked by Deputy Urszula Jarosz during today's Sejm debate over draft laws on cooperatives.

The debate on cooperatives, started a day earlier, was also continued on Saturday [20 January]. Eventually, after voting on numerous amendments proposed by deputies, the chamber voted into law the bill on changes in organization and activity of cooperatives and amended the existing cooperative law.

Below are some opinions voiced during the discussion. Deputy Roman Norbert: If one views the drive to reform Polish cooperatives as an attempt to break up nomenklatura, then it is necessary to emphasize that one has the old nomenklatura in mind.

Deputy Marian Kowal: The adoption of the draft law will break up the old structures created by Bierut and will encourage grass-root initiative.

Deputy Wlodzimierz Krajewski: Liquidation of central cooperative unions is necessary and it is broad masses of consumers who bear the cost of the maintenance of those unions.

Candidates to National Council of Courts

Then the deputies proceeded to the next point on the agenda, the election of four deputies to the National Council of Courts. The Council is composed not only of the representatives of courts. The list of the candidates was set up. The elections will be held at the next meeting.

Property of PUWP

The Sejm resolved to include on the agenda of the next meeting, to be held next week, the draft law of the deputies concerning the takeover of the property of the Polish United Workers' Party [PUWP] by the state treasury.

Question Time

During the final part of the debates, the deputies heard answers to some questions.

The first of them concerned the situation of the library and museum collections in the national collection named after the Ossolinski family in Lvov, Their consolidation and relocation to the current premises of "Ossolineum" in Wroclaw.

While answering this question, Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski stressed that the recovery of the Polish national treasures and memorabilia now within the USSR borders is an issue to which the cabinet of Premier Mazowiecki attaches great significance. "Our arguments are understood by the partners, announced was the creation of the government commission with the participation of Soviet republics."

While speaking about the "Ossolineum" collection the minister recalled that first unsuccessful attempts to recover the treasures were taken in 1945.

In 1946, the authorities of the Ukrainian Republic conveyed to Poland only part of the collection. Also in 1987 only a small fraction of books returned to Poland met with great publicity despite their insignificant value.

While answering the second question concerning the appeal for actions to restore the rights of a national minority to Poles living in Romania and possibilities to enjoy by them the civic rights of the Republic of Poland, Skubiszewski said that the political transformations in Romania offer a chance for change in this respect. The new authorities in Romania committed themselves to observe the minority rights.

A draft of agreement on the transfer of old age and disability pensions between Poland and Romania is under preparation. It is also necessary to re-activate the Polish house in Bucharest set up in 1972.

The agenda included the question about the relinquishment of the construction of the nuclear power plant in Zarnowiec. Minister of Industry Tadeusz Syryjczyk said that it would not make a good precedent if the results of a local referendum were to decide in the matters of the nuclear power industry in general.

Sejm Amends Cooperative Law, Ends Session

LD2001211790 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1645 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] The Sejm, having taken into consideration amendments put forward by the Sejm commissions and deputies during the debate, passed a law on changes in the organization and activity of the cooperative sector, and an amendment to the cooperative law. However, the election of deputies to the National Judicial Council and the examination of the draft law on taking over Polish United Workers Party assets by the state treasury have been postponed to the next sitting of the chamber. Such a motion signed by 93 deputies was submitted to the Sejm.

As we heard a while ago, the next sitting of the Sejm has been scheduled for 25 and 26 January and, most probably, Vaclav Havel, president of Czechoslovak, will be invited to it. This news was announced by Deputy Sejm Speaker Teresa Dobielinska-Eliszewska.

Sejm To Reconvene 25-26 Jan; Agenda Given

LD2101012290 Warsaw PAP in English 2008 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 20—The Sejm Presidium resolved to hold another meeting of the Sejm on Jan. 25 and 26.

The agenda of the meeting to start on Jan. 25 at 9:00 hrs. includes:

—The first reading of draft laws submitted by the Senate:

1. On the change of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland.
2. On the territorial self-government.
3. On the electoral law to communal authorities.

—The first reading of the deputies' draft law concerning the takeover of the property of the Polish United Workers' Party by the state treasury.

—The election of deputies to the National Council of Courts.

—Matters pertaining to the construction of the nuclear power plant in Zarnowiec and question period.

Walesa, Sejm Deputy Speaker Discuss Situation

LD2201205390 Warsaw PAP in English 2000 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Gdansk, Jan. 22—Lech Walesa met with Sejm deputy speaker Tadeusz Fiszbach in the Solidarity office here today.

The interlocutors exchanged information on the present political and economic situation in Poland, the communique issued after the talks reads. They also touched upon the problems of the future of the Gdansk shipyard.

Walesa and Fiszbach pointed to the role that a formation of the Polish left can play in Poland's political life today.

They also discussed controversies around draft laws on the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] assets that appeared in the Sejm. The Solidarity leader stated that the PUWP's assets are public property. According to Fiszbach, the issue should be dealt with by the government.

Following the meeting the two said:

Lech Walesa: We talked about the need to understand the necessity and about mutual respect. Tadeusz Fiszbach is a man of reconciliation, of the tested reconciliation. Therefore, we had few differences here, because there were few even before.

Tadeusz Fiszbach: I value every meeting with Chairman Walesa very much. Both those in the past when we sat opposite each other, and present ones when they are more frequent, but always with the intention to change Poland with society's participation. There are common issues that do not divide but unite us.

Sejm-Senate Mediatory Commission Established

LD2301211890 Warsaw PAP in English 1802 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 23—In view of conflicting views on procedural questions which sometimes emerge between the Polish Sejm and Senate, especially critical opinions of the Senate towards decisions taken by the Sejm, a special commission has been set up to determine parliamentary procedure binding on both chambers of Polish parliament, Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz told PAP.

"To avoid situations of a stalemate, such as at the latest meeting of the Sejm, we set up a 10-member commission with the participation of vice-speakers of both chambers," Kozakiewicz said.

Ministers Adopt Drafts for Amendments to Laws

15 Jan Meeting

LD1601130590 Warsaw PAP in English 2348 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 15: Today evening a meeting of Poland's Council of Ministers started chaired by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

The meeting adopted a draft law on amending the trade code, bankruptcy law and the law on state enterprises. The essence of changes consists in making realistic the bankruptcy procedure and making its principles equal for all economic units.

The changes defined in the draft include also, among other things, elimination of the category of enterprises of the fundamental significance for the state economy, greater competences for workers' councils in appointing managers, and their stronger status due to five-year contracts and higher wages while increasing requirements of loyalty and discipline.

The Council of Ministers adopted a draft amendment law on economic activity. The change will eliminate the practice of linking the managerial functions in economic units (production enterprises, companies, etc.) with other profit-bringing jobs which results in dishonest competition. In other words, a given person will not be allowed to run business competitive to the interests of an enterprise in which he holds a managerial post.

Other, non-competitive jobs will be permitted provided they are notified at a supervising organ. Such an organ will be able to ban additional jobs if it considers them harmful for the enterprise in which a given person performs managerial functions.

The draft law introduces as well the so-called competitive clause which will provide a possibility to oblige a given person, while vesting him with a managerial post, to give up undertaking additional jobs while performing the function or even within a year after it.

The debates lasted late into the evening and concerned, among other things, a draft law on political parties. The information on that part of the meeting will be provided on Tuesday.

23 Jan Meeting

LD2301235190 Warsaw PAP in English 2323 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 23—The Council of Ministers at its meeting chaired by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki adopted here today draft amendments to the housing law.

Housing Law

Following are some of the solutions of the adopted draft amendments:

As of October 1, 1990, rent for flats in municipal, factory and private buildings should cover total cost of exploitation and current repairs. Apart from a rent a tenant will be charged separate fees for central heating and warm water.

A growth of financial burden carried by tenants is connected with a reform of the rent policy and requires appropriate shielding measures.

Censorship Lifted

The government adopted draft legal amendments permitting a lifting of censorship.

The Council of Ministers proposes to annul the law on control over publications and shows and thus to dissolve the office of censorship. Under the proposed amendments to the press law, voivodship courts will register new press titles. It is proposed that journalists, the authors, be held accountable for breaching in the press of publications the norms of the penal code under general principles, through trials before common courts. The draft envisages the possibility of special easing of punishment of authors violating these legal norms in the press. The changes in the press law also envisage the possibility of confiscation of titles or publications in which a crime was committed, but such decisions will be made by the court in its sentences.

PZPR Reformers Meet, Form Congress Bloc

AU1801125490 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 15 Jan 90 pp 1, 2

[Roman Chocyk report: "Before the Congress: A New Party, a New Newspaper"]

[Text] When it called the meeting, the leadership of the "8 July Movement" issued a communique inviting all delegates who were reformers to attend. The meeting proved to be a kind of test. When they arrived at Warsaw University's Auditorium Maximum, they could often barely conceal their surprise. Who is a reformer? What was the significance of the fact that Aleksander Kwasniewski, Slawomir Wiatr, and Prof Jerzy Wiatr sat next to each other; that Wojciech Wisniewski, Janusz Kubasiewicz, and Ryszard Lukasiewicz sat next to each other in another row; and that Deputy Krzysztof Komornicki spent a long time in conversation with Leszek Miller?

The situation clarified itself as soon as the first exchange of views took place. Those who considered that the views and arguments submitted were too extreme left the hall.

Tomasz Nalecz: The difference between a morgue and a maternity ward is too great for anything other than a corpse wearing makeup to emerge (on the transition from the final congress to the congress of the new party). [sentence as published] There is no alternative to the creation of an authentically new, social democratic party. This requires a radical break with the past and an honest appraisal of the past.

Kazimierz Kik: The leader of the new party can only be someone who stands a chance of gaining the confidence of the public. It cannot be someone associated with martial law and the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] mistakes (on Mieczyslaw Rakowski).

Michal Kaczmarek: Nothing can be built on the ruins of the present government. We often had an opportunity to institute far-reaching reforms, but we never did, and that is something people have not forgotten.

Jerzy Wiatr: We recently wintnessed a lot of sly maneuvering. Comrade Poreba and people like him should not be allowed to join the new party.

Delegates kept returning to the question of personalities during the debate. The prevailing view was that the party that is to replace the PZPR will only stand a chance of growing and gaining the public's confidence if it is led by a completely new person. This led to the rejection of M. Rakowski's candidacy. Some people even went further and suggested that no member of the present PZPR leadership should belong to the new party's leadership. One several occasions, it was suggested that Vice Marshal Tadeusz Fiszbach, "a man of the highest honesty and integrity," be put forward as a candidate. Although the vice marshall was present in the hall, he did not express a view on this subject.

Those attending the meeting also considered various scenarios regarding the way the situation at the congress could evolve. Should the reformers suffer a defeat, as K. Kik put it, it would be possible for them to adopt the following solution: They could become members of the supreme council without holding executive posts in the new party, establish an autonomous faction within its framework, and establish a separate social democratic party. No clear-cut agreement was reached on this issue, but a poll of those attending the meeting indicated that the prevailing view was that the PZPR had to be dissolved and that conditions for the formation of factions should be created in the new party. The most frequently proposed name for the new party was the Social Democratic Party of Poland.

The delegates held that TRYBUNA LUDU should cease to exist on 27 January (it was said that this applied to the leading names that appear in its columns, and not just to the masthead). The first day of the founding congress should be reported by a new, entirely different newspaper.

The meeting ended with the formation of a Social Democratic Bloc, whose task is "to set both congresses on a course that will not allow the old PZPR handicaps to triumph" and to start creating a party that has a clearly social democratic character. At the moment its members include delegates representing the "8 July Movement" and the Working People's Movement, deputies belonging to the PZPR Deputies Club, and representatives of other reformist groupings. However, the bloc appeals to other like-minded people to join it.

Delegates to 11th PPZPR Congress Confer

LD2101222690 Warsaw PAP in English 2139 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 21—The coordinating team of delegates to the 11th Polish United Workers Party [PUWP] congress and the founding congress of a new party of the left held a meeting here today. The gathering was briefed on the work of the programmatic, statutory and congressional resolutions and stances commissions as well as of the commission for closing the PUWP's activities.

The meeting adopted draft regulations and agendas of the congresses. No foreign guests are to be invited. In the opinion of the team, the highest authorities of the new party should be elected only from among the delegates to the congress.

The team stressed that activities aimed against the PUWP have intensified of late and take on confrontational forms, ones dangerous for social peace and order. In connection with this, the team adopted a statement reading that the PUWP has at present become the object of propaganda and political attacks.

The attempt to confiscate PUWP asssets on the eve of it closing its activity makes it impossible to shape a rational alignment of political forces in the state.

The authors of the statement ask the government to guarantee—in respecting the constitutional entry about Poland being a state of law—the possibility of using the elementary right to hold the PUWP and founding congresses.

Workers Forum Statement on Party Congress

AU2201130690 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Jan 90 p 2

[Statement issued by the Warsaw Workers Forum—date and place not given]

[Text] 1. Poland finds itself in danger and the working man looks to the future with apprehension. The formation of a strong and socially credible party of the socialist left is a necessity. The road to such a party leads through the 11th Congress of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR].

2. The party of the socialist left must be a party driven by the hopes and the interests of the working class and people who live by the work of their own hands. It has to be a party defending these people's right to a dignified and reasonable life-style, human rights, citizens' and producers' democracy, and to real pluralism.

3. It is untrue to say that people who are economically totally dependent on others can be truly free. It is untrue to say that a widespread pauperization is the only way to freedom, or that the race for profits has to be the underlying principle of our national life. It is untrue to state that our national property will best serve Polish interests if it is given to foreign hands for next to nothing. It is untrue to say that the working people will be better off in a Polish capitalism which is being built by cutting corners.

That is why we believe that a party of the socialist left ought to fight against the process of reinstating capitalism in Poland and move into a position of opposition in the face of these developments.

4. The party of the socialist left that wishes to represent its social base must shape close and partner-like relations with the various trade unions that are reunited in the National Trade Union Confederation, and cooperate with all other trade unions which are honestly acquitting themselves in defending the gains of socialism and the dignity of work. Such a party has to cooperate with the farmers in the defense of their position.

5. If this party wants to represent the interests and the hopes of the working people, it cannot afford to lose sight of the factories, enterprises, and other institutions. It cannot turn its back on the party centers that gather members from such work places.

6. The past forms of socialism have outlived their usefulness, and many factors deplorably distorted its original characteristic. As a result of this there followed a loss of faith in socialism, and the failed attempts at reform led to a mortal threat to socialism.

The present crisis of socialism cannot allow one to reject all the ideals which grew from the struggles of our working class. The party of the socialist left has to elaborate a new vision of a democratic and modern socialism. It has to be a vision based on research of the experiences of the past and the present, as well as being based on the collective experience of the whole nation. An essential part of this must be a realistic economic program.

7. The Workers Forum yet again underlines its support of the idea of party unity in its political action, while it accepts the principle of ideological and programmatic multiplicity which have to reflect the current realities in Poland and throughout the world.

8. The need to distance itself from the excesses of the past does not authorize the party to cease all defense of the achievements of Peoples' Poland (coming under increasing attacks) and to stop defending honest people—whether they belong to the party, or not—from the demagogic attacks of the right wing. By defending these people and achievements we shall be defending justice and the dignity of man.

9. At its upcoming congress the PZPR has to honestly appraise its road, elaborate a program reflecting the new conditions and challenges, and transform itself in accordance with the will expressed in the all-party poll into a new party.

10. The participants of the Forum have expressed their deep satisfaction with the commitment and objectivity of the editorial team of TRYBUNA LUDU in the period leading to the congress.

11. Owing to the creation of a Social-Democratic bloc which unites some of the delegates to the 11th PZPR Congress, it has been decided to consider the need to form a socialist bloc.

Social-Democratic Appeal to Congress Delegates

AU2201150490 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Jan 90 p 2

[Appeal from members of the Social-Democratic bloc at the congress to the delegates to the Polish United Workers Party 11th Congress issued in Warsaw on 13 January]

[Text] We, the delegates to the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] 11th Congress, at a meeting organized by the 8 July Movement in Warsaw on 13 January 1990, hereby declare:

1. We want to serve Poland above all things, and acknowledge that its sovereignty and the well-being of its citizens are of paramount importance. This fact means the rejection of the road of a destructive opposition, and the acceptance of the principle of cooperation in order to lead Poland out of the crisis for which the PZPR bears responsibility. Failure of the changes currently being undertaken would be a catastrophe for all Poles. We cannot allow this to happen.

2. The time of authoritarian socialism born out of postwar conditions of limited sovereignty and Stalinist domination in East Europe, has irrevocably passed away. The history of the PZPR—a party of the Leninist type which did not meet the needs of the time—is coming to an end.

3. A social-democratic party can play a very important role in Poland. That is the type of party that we wish to call into being after the activity of the PZPR is terminated at the upcoming congress. For this reason we have decided to form a Social-Democratic bloc today with the aim of uniting all like-minded congress delegates.

4. A social-democratic party must radically break away from the authoritarianism of the PZPR. Without doing this it will never gain social credibility.

5. We support the fundamental principles behind democratic socialism as recently restated in the Stockholm Declaration of the Socialist International—namely, we support the principles of freedom, equality, justice, and solidarity.

6. Democracy demands that there exist alternate forces and programs. Without these, the mechanism of rule begins to go off the rails. We saw this happening in the PZPR, with painful consequences. That is why we consider it essential that an alternative socioeconomic program be elaborated by a social- democratic party.

7. We appeal to all delegates to whom the ideals of democratic socialism are dear to support the social-democratic bloc. Only a social-democratic party can give the Polish left social credibility and political force.

Any attempt to reconstruct a neo-PZPR will end with failure. The people will simply not accept rehashed programs, methods of functioning, and reshuffled leadership.

Support us during the congress and after it.

[Signed] Delegates to the PZPR 11th Congress—Members of the Social- Democratic bloc

Warsaw, 13 January 1990

Rakowski Comments on New Party of Polish Left

LD2201205190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] Delegates from eight voivodships of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Congress have met in Lublin. Report by Marek Skowronek:

[Skowronek] Mieczyslaw Rakowski, PZPR Central Committee first Secretary, is participating in the Lublin meeting.

[Begin Rakowski recording] There are no voices which would question the pointlessness of the departure from the PZPR. [as heard] What is more, there is agreement—and this is an exceptionally significant political factor—that this new party cannot be a post-PZPR party. Generally, there is a tendency to virtually close this chapter of the Polish left intellectually and politically. The organizational form of the new party, as well as its ideological complexion—these are the things that arouse lively discussion. There is a dispute—not a great dispute after all, but a noticeable one—about whether this is going to be a socialist or a social-democratic party. Much time is devoted to personal issues, such as what the future leader should be like. A misunderstanding often occurs here that there is a tendency to fit the leader to society. There is talk that the leader must be one who enjoys the trust of society. On the other hand I think: First, no leader wins the full support of society; second the leader is for the party and not for society. He is clearly responsible for shaping a policy which allows the party, and not the leader, to win support—but these are two different things. [end recording]

PZPR Politburo Denounces Attacks on Party

LD2301234790 Warsaw PAP in English 2148 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 23—Following are excerpts of a statement of the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee Political Bureau presented to PAP today:

All the commitments which stemmed from the context of the Roundtable agreements have been fully and painstakingly fulfilled by the PUWP signatory.

Despite this, for some time now the party has become the object of increasingly violent and ruthless attacks. Alongside a propaganda campaign characterized by a spirit of revenge and aimed at discrediting among public opinion all the postwar achievements of Poles, illegal acts surface increasingly frequently, such as occupation of buildings used by the party and attempts to destroy them. A group of deputies recently motioned to parliament to confiscate all of the party's assets.

The plans to disturb the debates of the 11th PUWP Congress (scheduled for January 27) and the founding congress of the new party of the left augur badly.

These propaganda actions pose a number of pitfalls for the democratic order in Poland. They encourage violence.

Being guided by the well-being of our country, we ask the constitutional authorities of the Republic of Poland to use measures at the disposal of the state to ensure security to the debates of the PUWP Congress and founding congress of the new party which will be the co-author and guarantor of reformative transformations in Poland.

POLITYKA Views Country's Present, Future

PM2201124090 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 9 Dec 89 p 3

[Jacek Syski article: "Polish Myths and Realities"]

[Text] Where are we now, after the democratic breakthrough and the collapse of the Stalinist, totalitarian order? What is the nature of this breakthrough? Has Stalinism in Poland really come to an end as a result of the latest elections? Where are we going? Toward what kind of future?

As all observers agree, virtually everything has changed in Poland. But, at the same time, in many respects nothing, or hardly anything, has changed at all. So what has really changed? What must still change if everything is to be truly different and if there is not to be a return to the past, which no one really wants? And, at the same time, the question arises: What was that past to which there really is, and can be, no return? Perhaps the situation also contains certain disquieting elements of a threat and a challenge.

The hope that Poland has been born anew as a democratic, free, and sovereign state, and that, as such, it will from now on be a full member of the European home must surely stir most Polish hearts and stimulate our thoughts about the future, just as does the belief that Poland in the future will guarantee a decent life for all its citizens. The end of a certain ideologically utopian system (of Marxist socialism), coupled with the totalitarian or para-totalitarian practices of a real-socialism state, is clearly linked in Poland with a revival of a different type of utopian system, whose dominant trends are wishful thinking and a great variety of resurrected traditions associated with a plethora of positions and attitudes that are often completely incompatible with reality or with the challenges of the approaching times.

At the same time—despite the whole framework of public debate—we still note a persistent phenomenon of profound silence in the media and in the whole spectrum of centers that shape public opinion. This is accompanied by misunderstandings, muddles, and a great many myths, which often replace a sound analysis of reality and an objective discussion about the future.

It is astonishing how impoverished our press and our media are in this respect; how even our new parliamentary life is, in fact, devoid of any deeper political and social content while being almost entirely dominated by immediate—not to say technical—concerns, such as the effect of the accustomed shortcomings in the administration of our economic and state affairs on the present situation, as well as yesterday's complexes and even earlier days' resentments. You would be hard pressed to find there even the slightest vestige of a desire to engage in a modern form of political dialogue or to develop progressive political ideas, to identify a true resolution to establish a normal system of a number of political parties vying for position through their programs and the articulation of various interests. Instead, we have a perpetual condition whereby all political options—including conflicting ones—become ossified under the all-embracing banner of Solidarity, which, in turn, has by now assumed a virtually mythological significance. There is no rational justification for this phenomenon, which is gradually turning into a new political and conceptual mystification gaining ground in our country—except that this one will be attributed to the new democracy and its heroes.

Are We in the Third World Yet?

Where are we? Of course, in the center of Europe, where just now the post-Yalta order is falling into ruin, as can be seen not only in the changes taking place in almost all the countries with so-called real socialism, but also in the clearly changing role of the Soviet Union—the latter being so engrossed in its own problems and danger areas that it is beginning to abandon the traditional function that it has held in international relations since the end of World War II and getting ready to consider a new, democratic order for Europe and the world. However, those who are all too ready to feel euphoric about it today should remember on the one hand that it was

precisely the post-Yalta order that has guaranteed peace and stability in this part of Europe, and, on the other, that in the new alignment of forces and interests, when everything suggests that the old, ideological guarantees of the European order will give way to national and state interests and a new alignment arranged to suit the criteria dictated by these interests, Poland is not entering the European scene as a strengthened partner. On the contrary, Poland is weaker now than it has been at any time during the past 50 years. It has been, in fact, reduced to the status of a Third, or even Fourth, World country, considering its foreign debt and its economic, ecological, and health crisis—as the Swedish paper DAGENS NYHETER commented recently. The comment, incidentally, was far from malicious: On the contrary, it pointed to the possibility of offering Poland Swedish loans earmarked for the Third World, one condition being that Poland's patently obvious economic condition should be called by its appropriate name...

I am not quoting this opinion without reason. In a situation where the old ideological blocs are falling apart as they signal the true end of an era dominated by ideological principles—an end which is now clearly advancing by leaps and bounds—Poland will find itself deprived of all the potential protection which it could invoke in the past in the name of ideological principles, while, at the same time, inheriting all the liabilities and weaknesses of that past period.

We can formulate many different definitions of the prerequisites and preconditions of independence and national sovereignty. But we cannot fail to notice that their true and definitive foundation is economic autonomy and that their limits extend only as far as the dynamism of the national economy. In this respect Poland in 1989 finds itself in the position of a country which is not viable without external assistance. The tectonic forces causing the destruction of the post-Yalta order in Europe, which on the one hand creates the prospect of the Soviet Union's withdrawing to concentrate on its own affairs and giving up its accustomed presence in its traditional zone of influence, and, on the other hand, presage the emergence of a German colossus towering over Europe and dominating it in every respect give cause for acute alarm even in such prosperous Western European countries as France or Britain. For Poland, however, they signify an incomparably greater challenge, which is clearly underestimated and perhaps even downplayed in the new democratic camp. Nevertheless, there is still a very real danger that Poland will remain Europe's provincial backwater, its Fourth World, left at the mercy of its potentates and vulnerable to the force of their nationalistic strivings.

The Haste and the Trauma

In the face of the earthquake that is shattering the order of real socialism in Eastern Europe (and in the Soviet Union), Poland is losing—or has already lost—its role and significance as the bridge and the middleman between East and West. In the face of the changes in other socialist countries, particularly the GDR, Poland will soon lose its priority position as the focus of Western interests and recipient of Western assistance. All this means that there is really no time to waste when it comes to a recovery program for the Polish economy. By now every month—not every year—that passes makes a difference, and the whole population, as well as every individual citizen, should be made aware of it. I believe that this situation could also be responsible for the present government's insistence on speeding up the rate of the changes taking place (and the government can find additional encouragement here in the unprecedented patience demonstrated so far by the population.)

Thus, the extent of the economy's collapse and the strength of popular support (that is, people's patience) for the government are factors responsible for the haste with which the new authorities initiate the transformations and for the traumatic nature of these transformations. The idea is to get the worst over and done with as soon as possible and to create new and irreversible faits accomplis in the economic sphere. This is necessary because—and we need to admit it openly—at the moment the new, democratic political order in Poland still lacks sufficient support or a sufficiently sound foundation based on social and economic realities. I would in particular point to the economic realities here. The situation in which a disenfranchised and paralyzed society finds itself is rooted in its economic position. This is because the structures that characterized a heavily bureaucratized and monopolized economy controlled in the past by the political oligarchy of true socialism are still evident, despite the fact that the oligarchy itself has gone or lost its influence. The basic social and economic archetype (with profound political implications) of the hired laborer is also still very much in operation, as are the socioeconomic structures that have created him. Such a worker is disenfranchised in the production process, dependent in all things on economic bureaucracy, and unable to influence the affairs of his own state, society, or workplace other than through a mere passive formulation of his demands.

It is obvious that we cannot really change this state of affairs or even dream of a self-governing model of society and a socialization of public life with the existing economic model still firmly ensconced and operating in our reality—and by this I mean not only the mechanism of its operation but also its fundamental structure, including that of ownership relations. Here we must insist, clearly and unequivocally, that in this aspect the new government's economic program is, in effect, also a social and political program, and that it is perfectly consistent. It assumes—on the social and economic side—an expansion or, rather, creation of a new middle class and a new stratum comprising owners of the means of production (that is, capital), who would provide real social and political support for a liberal parliamentary democracy based on the Western model, and thus constitute a new political and social consumer (or electorate)

group in the new order. Let me point out that so far the new democratic (that is, political) order has not attracted such support or such partners. In effect, all existing political forces (including both Solidarity and the party) try to address the same social "customer," fashioned by the post-Stalinist order, and they are objectively limited in their action by its interests—even if these interests are temporarily subject to modification or the influence of some external factor, such as the anticommunist phobia, which was in this case triggered not so much by political determinants as, predominantly, by the economic effects of so many years of "true socialism" rule.

The Downgrading

However, this situation need not, and very likely will not, last forever, just as it could turn out that the support offered to Solidarity by the so-called big-industry working class and the new government need not last forever either, especially when the social costs of the program for overcoming the crisis and, most importantly, its consequences in the form of structural transformations in industry and major shifts in social structure begin to assume substantial proportions.

In a nutshell, the government proposals to introduce a market economy fashioned on liberal models and to privatize the economy are supposed to lead to, and eventually achieve, a social structure of a different type from that which has evolved in Poland to date. It should be different with respect to the distribution of power, prestige, and money; different with respect to poverty groups and areas; and finally, different with respect to the distance in mutual relations between individual social strata and groups.

That new social structure would be based exclusively on the unequivocal criterion of money and it would unequivocally downgrade the present—and traditionally dominant (if not objectively, then at least by comparison with others)—social groups and strata, depriving them of their accustomed positions and significance. It will also function in a fundamentally different way with regard to the economy and political issues—different, that is, from the situation of the social structure of real socialism. To put it briefly, the discovery of political freedom, which was absent in circumstances of so-called real socialism, will be accompanied by the discovery of the overriding, massive presence of economic pressure. This will be manifested not only in the abstract and generalized sense, in the form of privation—which was experienced also under the socialist system but which at least put the majority of the population on a more or less equal footing—but also in the individual dimension, with economic pressure present in the form of rivalry and competition, with the inevitable defeat and loss that will irrevocably blight many individuals' lives and careers. Paradoxically, under conditions of true socialism, with its generalized and virtually universal privation, the whole sphere of economic reality existed in a peculiar "state of suspension," as if its terms of reference somehow did not apply to real life. People certainly led an impoverished existence, but no one had to worry excessively about their own economic status and no one was threatened with the specter of economic ruin—until, that is, the specter of ruin came to threaten everyone individually and the system as a whole... The whole sphere of economy and economic management was the state's problem—that is, the problem of state bureaucracy, which, having deprived individuals, social groups, and the entire public of their freedom, at the same time had to shoulder the responsibility for their upkeep.

Provided you are obedient and do not stand up against the authorities, they should take care to supply you with all that you require and ensure that you do not have to live in fear of your future (economic) situation. And if these authorities, or the whole system, cease giving you what they have promised or what is expected of them, we will eventually wrest it from them forcibly ourselves with the use of the strike weapon. Such was the quintessence of the economic "philosophy" of real socialism.

Its dramatic downfall did not begin with the moment when workers discovered their power and realized their ability to successfully wield the false weapon of strikes. The downfall began much earlier, at the time when, under conditions of advanced competition and cooperation with the rest of the world, comparisons with Western living standards became both inevitable and irresistible, and when such comparisons put into question the standards and potential of the system of true socialism, revealing its diminishing technological and civilizational effectiveness, both in an objective sense and in relation to the Western counterpart.

However, if the abrupt vault into parliamentary democracy that has already been made or is intended to be made by the people of these countries is to be tantamount to a parallel vault into a system of true market economy, it must also take them into the realm of economic pressures, which will henceforth dominate and govern not only the actions and plans of the state, but also the personal choices, decisions, actions, and attitudes of individuals. Such is simply the price of that land of milk and honey into which we all want to gain entrance, following the example of Western civilization. Unfortunately, I suspect that in reality most of us are still unaware of that price. I also suspect that many people do not realize that this land of milk and honey will not be open to all—in fact, it will remain inaccessible to most of us for a long time to come (and to many of us, forever)—and that for Poland the correct frame of reference for making comparisons is the situation of Third World countries (for example, Latin America,) rather than the status of the wealthiest and most developed Western countries, with which we customarily compare ourselves.

For this reason also I could not agree with either the tenor or the conclusions of the otherwise interesting article by Jerzy Surdykowski ("The Left of 1989: Political Hope or Resuscitating a Corpse?"), published in issue 41 of POLITYKA. This article, albeit written by a distinguished political journalist, seems to me somehow

too academic and too remote from Polish realities of the day. To put it briefly, it is more of an attempt at summing up the experience of highly developed Western countries (societies) over the past dozen or so years, while remaining rather irrelevant to our actual situation today. It is with reference to those Western countries that we can speak of the crisis of the "social welfare state" and, in general, of the crisis of the social democratic political option typical of the sixties and seventies—a crisis which manifested itself mainly in the economic sphere, but which eventually extended to the areas of politics and social awareness and became reinforced by the progressive collapse of both the socialist ideology and the mistakes and failures of the camp of the so-called true socialism. In this general sense we can indeed say that, for example, in Western Europe we have for some time observed a retreat from "left wing"—that is, socialist and social democratic— trends and ideologies, not to mention the communist orientation. A different situation occurs in the United States, where it would be absurd to speak of a left-wing crisis in connection with the difficulties experienced by the democratic party, because the concept of a left-wing political orientation in the European sense is meaningless in that country. But even there the recent revival of neoconservatism and liberalism, with its clearly defined option of antistatism and the protest against the concept of a social welfare state, is obviously the product of the minor economic crisis which arose as a result of excessive burdens imposed on the economy by the obligations of a welfare state. On the other hand, this revival, just as its European counterpart, need not be regarded as the final word in this matter. Who knows whether we will not be confronted soon with a returning wave of anticonservatism and antiliberalism, which will again reach to a modified and reconsidered idea of a welfre state?

What Next, After the Democratic Breakthrough Euphoria?

Let us point out again here that the model of economic liberalism, with all its socioeconomic and political consequences, will eventually be implemented, not in the highly developed Western countries but in a country which in effect belongs to the Third (if not the Fourth) World—that is, in Poland. In a country whose socioeconomic system has been ravaged and devastated by the years spent under Stalinist rule, but where, at the same time, society has become accustomed all along to keep invoking the equalizing and demand-oriented ideology of socialism. Even if we assume that, in analogy with the highly developed Western countries, this presupposes that only one-third of the population will be pushed onto the economic margins and denied a share in the country's development and effectively impoverished, I would strongly like to see a politician (regardless of his party's or camp's name or orientation) who could come out with such a proposal and implement it democratically; particularly since, for Poland, remaining on—or beyond—the margin of development can and will mean conformance not with West European standards, but precisely with those of the Third or Fourth World.

In any case, I suspect that in Poland's case the condition of being on the economic margin would have to apply to more than one-third of the population. It is more than certain that there is no program, no party, and no individual capable of carrying out such an operation under conditions of social calm; nor do I believe that we should reconcile ourselves to the idea: I think it is neither necessary nor imperative.

And this fundamentally is my basic answer to the question posed by Jerzy Surdykowski, in issue 41 of POLITYKA, about the sense and the prospects of the left wing in Poland. I am not talking about Poland in the year 1989, with its continuing ideological turmoil, typical of any transitional era, its highly emotionally charged anticommunist phobias, or the ambivalence resulting from the reluctance—felt by the erstwhile opposition camp—to reveal differences of interests in groups subscribing to different political, social, or ideological options. I am talking about Poland's prospects in both the immediate and the more distant future, where the basic social, political, and ideological questions will be viewed and valued not in the context of the past—with which, however, accounts must be fully squared—but in that of the realities of the present-day challenges and, of course, the future. These new phenomena, which will challenge the present living standards and the accustomed lifestyle of many social groups and strata and consequently bring about their objective or relative impoverishment, will also put back on the agenda the issues of compensatory pay increases and social welfare entitlements and their guarantees, as well as questions of political, cultural, and intellectual development, equality, and justice: in short, the whole set of problems which, as experience teaches us, provide fertile ground for the growth of socialist, social democratic—or, to use the metaphorical term, left-wing—tendencies and attitudes. The situation in Poland certainly does not restrict the "left- wing orientation" to being able to invoke only the universal human mottoes referring to human and civil rights, as J. Surdykowski seems to believe. On the contrary, I think that the social and economic—as well as political—framework developing in the country will very soon reveal the existence of many real-life, dramatic conflicts, which will become so much more acute if the government persists in choosing to be guided by the ideology of economic liberalism. In the face of these conflicts we will certainly see a revival of the classic as well as new questions, tasks, and problems of the "left-wing orientation." And it is immaterial whether they are presented in the social democratic, or socialist option.

On the other hand, we should guard against that reawakening's assuming the form only too familiar in South America; we should hope that it does not become reduced to an explosion of radical populism, the danger of which is all too real and not limited to the side which is most often pointed at in this context. It would be hard to ignore the fact that there is a powerful—albeit perhaps

still officially unacknowledged and suppressed—populist undercurrent within Solidarity itself. In a certain sense Solidarity has always been, and remains even today, a populist movement. This is also confirmed by the reluctance of the leaders of the many centers and groups existing within it to identify themselves and to stand up to be counted, with their visors raised, as a separate movement or platform of a given party, interest group, or social stratum.

Today the populist face of Solidarity as a movement—or a union—is still disguised under the euphoric manifestations accompanying the democratic breakthrough and the impetuous anticommunist tendency which reconciles the otherwise very different interests of a variety of social groups and strata. But as the eventual democratic normalization proceeds along its course, as the anticommunist complex begins to wane, as the implementation of the new economic policy gains momentum—with the population (and, within it, particularly the employee group) forced, of necessity, to shoulder their own burden—we should expect to see certain significant regroupings and a differentiation of interests as well as outright conflicts of interests, in the face of which a rational social democratic or socialist left could turn out to provide the only counterweight to the demands made by the populist movement and characterized by this movement's natural tendency to authoritarian solutions.

The Populist Proposal

From this perspective it is difficult not to notice that in the long term the social democratic current within the present-day Solidarity will be incomparably closer to those parties or movements which—having risen from the ruins of today's Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] and having been freed from the latter's Stalinist heritage—will opt openly for the democratic socialism solution and prove capable (assuming this will be at all possible) of adding their voices to the discussion on the country's future than to a great number of its present allies and partners hailing from the old opposition.

This prospect is not only realistic but indeed imperative, and it is dictated by the events themselves as they unfold before our eyes. Because we must realize—without questioning the superiority of the market economy over the command-directive economic system or the legitimacy of opting for a privatization of the economy (although we would query the timetable, the calendar, and the deadlines of that operation, all of which—as presented so far in government declarations—are nothing short of completely unrealistic)—that it is not immaterial from the social, political, or, finally, economic viewpoint whether this operation will be fully controlled and carried out with a minimum of the costs, admittedly necessary, having to be carried by our society, or whether it will degenerate into a runaway process allowed to run its own, uncontrolled course, which would maximize the scale of social suffering and threaten the entire process of democratic restructuring of the country, should a mounting social protest encounter the opportunity presented an the authoritarian populist movement. Therefore, to put it briefly, I believe that, regardless of the unequivocal meaning of the term "left wing," and its degree of theoretical and political "wear and tear" in the world, the left wing option—or options—in Poland will remain not only viable and necessary, but indeed indispensable for a long time to come. The reason for this is not only the need to minimalize the losses and social costs of the democratic restructuring but also, to view it pragmatically, the need to ensure that the whole process does not suffer eventual annihilation. Pola?d is a backward country not only as regards economic development. In fact, it is also backward in its civilizational, social, and intellectual development. And if we are to make up for this backwardness, it will be necessary—whether we like it or not—to apply a range of political and intellectual tools and measures such as are perhaps no longer needed elsewhere but which remain indispensable on our own home ground.

Those who underestimate or fail to notice this situation and this contingency are making a serious mistake in that they interpret their wishful thinking as reality, which in politics is bound, sooner or later, to end in one way only. The social, political, and economic situation in Poland provides now, and will continue to provide, fertile ground for the growth of a whole range of undemocratic, authoritarian and right-wing movements, and only a timely creation of a modern party (or orientation) representing the social democratic or socialist model and combining the modernization option with a program of consistent democratization, as well as social and cultural protection extended to the population, can successfully oppose the "populist threat" discussed above and provide sound foundations for bringing a democratic Poland into the family of countries boasting a successful market economy and a private ownership system.

However, if we consider the proportion occupied at present by so-called "state ownership" in the economy, we will realize that the whole process (of privatization) will have to be spread over several decades, rather than several years, according to objective opinions by Western experts. Consequently, I believe that at least during that period the "left-wing option"—either in its socialist or its social democratic version—will find for itself a fully legitimate area of activity, a raison d'etre, and a sphere of social influence—provided that it can free itself from the ballast of the past and develop a new language relevant to our new social experience....

Neosocialism Stands a Chance

The twilight of true socialism and the end of the era of socialism, both signaled and interpreted correctly in the context of the general experience of the 20th century and our past experience of the known forms of socialism, do not in any way imply a total negation or downgrading of the questions of social justice, equal opportunities, social and cultural advancement, conscious modeling of new forms of social structures, and economic development—

or intervention in and control of economic development within a defined, rationally justifiable framework—just as it does not preclude the idea of an interconnection between social (communal) freedom and social (communal) responsibility for the material condition of individuals and the opportunities for influencing this condition according to effective, but, at the same time, humanistic principles and criteria.

The collapse of true socialism does not mean that socialist ideas are now firmly relegated to the waste dump or the graveyard, where some would like to see them. It only means that each and every one of them must now be considered and reconsidered anew in the context of our new experience and in close contact with it. It means that we must put a lot of new mental effort into them. I would venture to say that such neosocialism stands a chance of becoming a preeminent social and political force in a future Poland, even under conditions of a market economy based mainly on private ownership. This conclusion follows also from the interconnections and affinities which exist before such a proposed formula of neosocialism and the social doctrine preached by the church, which—in the version proposed, for example, by Pope John Paul II—has for a long time now been quite close to the best essence of the socialist idea.

In any case, I believe that our Polish future will prove to become richly abounding in much more unexpected developments than we imagine today, when we have to draw our conclusions and generalizations from a past which is receding into the mists of history and whose significance I would be reluctant to overestimate, with regard to both its realities and the myths to which it has accustomed us....

NSF Meets 23 Jan; Decides to Run in Elections

Session Opens in Bucharest

AU2301103290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1000 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] At present, a meeting of the National Salvation Front [NSF] Council is taking place in Bucharest. The agenda includes issues regarding the NSF position on the upcoming general elections and measures to support the peasants in agricultural units; measures which are included in two draft laws.

Further on Meeting Decisions

AU2301164890 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1635 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Excerpts] The Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF] met in Bucharest today. [passage ommitted] On the second point of the agenda, the meeting discussed two draft laws on measures to give incentives and assistance to the peasantry and agricultural units. After discussions, the Council decided that these two draft laws should be examined in detail in the counties and later by the relevant ministry, with a view to improving and finalizing them for adoption.

Elections 20 May

AU2301161690 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] The National Salvation Front [NSF] Council met in Bucharest today. After broad discussions, in which the presidents of county NSF councils also took part, the NSF Council decided that the NSF should run in the next general elections and that these elections should be held on 20 May 1990.

In order to ensure the fairness of the 20 May elections and their unfolding in accordance with provisions of the electoral law, the Council decided to invite a group of UN observers. At the appropriate time, the UN secretary general will be approached in connection with the request to send a group of observers.

The NSF Council also decided to publish the draft electoral law, which will be examined together with the political parties and then submitted to broad public debate.

Brucan on Election Details

AU2301163090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1617 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] At a news conference held this afternoon at the Bucharest Hotel in the capital, Silviu Brucan, member of the Executive Bureau of the National Salvation Front [NSF] Council, answering many requests from miners in the Jiu Valley and Maramures, from workers in the country's metallurgical enterprises, from students, and from intellectuals, said that the NSF Council had decided to run in the elections and to present its own candidates.

In view of the request of the political parties to postpone the date of the elections, Silviu Brucan said that the Council had decided to fix the date of the elections for 20 May 1990. In order to prove its goodwill and to ensure the fairness of the elections, the Council decided to receive a group of UN observers, who will be invited to check whether the provisions of the electoral law are observed. At the appropriate time, Romania will approach the UN secretary general in connection with sending a group of observers.

Iliescu on Election Participation

AU2301191290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 23 Jan 90

["Excerpts" from speech by Ion Iliescu, president of the National Salvation Front (NSF) Council, at a meeting of the NSF Council in Bucharest on 23 January—recorded]

[Text] Various working collectives with whom we talked in recent days—for instance, miners from the Jiu Valley and Maramures; workers from the nonferrous metal industry; workers from large Bucharest factories, such as IMGB [abbreviation unknown], Vulcan, Danubiana, 23 August, Republica, Grivita Rosie, and so forth; various representatives of local NSF organizations and free trade unions; certain youth organizations; and even some parties which endorsed the NSF platform—have explicitly asked the NSF to openly state that it will run in the elections. They could not even understand why the NSF may decide not to participate in the elections. Here are the arguments in favor of this decision: The Front, as a movement, has been the outcome of the revolutionary process and the emanation of the people's revolution of 22 December. The Front took over the political leadership of the revolution, placed itself at the head of the masses of young people, workers, and intellectuals, and, together with the Army, defeated the armed forces of the special Securitate forces and ensured the victory of the revolution.

The program-platform of the NSF Council has found broad endorsement in the country. Assuming the particularly difficult responsibility of ensuring the country's political leadership at such a difficult and complicated time, the NSF committed itself to an arduous task of national salvation and the recovery of the economy and the social and political life, which is going to be a complex and long-term project. Given the current situation, how could the Front cease its activity after the elections and readily hand over power to other forces that appeared later? This question was put to us by representatives of the various aforementioned bodies and categories.

As far as we are concerned, we have not spoken out on this matter so far because we have primarily been

concerned with other problems than those of the electoral campaign, namely, with the very pressing problems of socioeconomic life, which require immediate solutions. At the same time, we did not want to start making various personal statements without having first discussed these matters in the council's plenum. Now the time has come to give a clear answer to this matter.

The Executive Bureau considers the opinions and arguments of those who ask that the Front contest the elections as an independent force justified. In this connection, we want to present several arguments in favor of this idea, which we submit to the Council's discussion.

First, the fact that the Front is exercising political power in the state is not an argument against participating in the elections. This is not a novelty, nor is it unique. It is the situation of any political formation that happens to be in power in any state.

Second, the fact that we are not a political party, but rather a Front—that is, a mass movement generated by a revolutionary process, a movement devoid of a rigid party structure—is not necessarily a disadvantage; on the contrary, it is a virtue of such a movement, which actually, one may note, has become a characteristic of contemporary political life. You just have to look at the forums in Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, at the ecological movements in a number of Western countries, at the Solidarity movement in Poland, and many other examples. All these are formations which participate in elections, and are doing so without being political parties.

Third, nobody can doubt the legitimacy of our movement. It was conferred on us by the people's revolution which gave birth to this movement.

Fourth, the NSF platform was not created for just a few months. It is a long-term platform of guidelines for the renewal of Romanian society at the political, economic, social, moral, and intellectual levels. The goals of promoting national salvation and achieving stability in all spheres are not ended once the elections are held. They remain the supreme commandments for a long period of time. However, there is no doubt that, in view of the upcoming elections, we will have to improve our platform, both from a conceptual viewpoint and from the viewpoint of concretely formulating and defining our political and economic targets, as well as our plans concerning various aspects of the social life. In this respect, we will have to establish a collective to work out this platform before the start of the electoral campaign.

Fifth, the NSF participation in the elections is not a matter of personal ambitions, but rather an issue of principle and of national interest. We want to promote a political platform aimed at uniting the country's active forces around some major commandments of Romania's renewal and development. What the country now needs is not division or the undermining of cohesion. What the country needs is unity of all forces around these commandments, as well as support for and consolidation of this platform, which should rally together all those interested in our country's renewal in the coming periods.

I would even go so far as to say that the Front's participation in the elections, as an element of national balance, is even in the interest of some political parties which want to oppose the NSF.

On the basis of all these arguments, I submit the decision on the Front's participation in the elections for the discussion and approval of the Council.

In order to prove our goodwill and our desire to ensure the fairness of the elections, I propose that the NSF declare that we are ready to accept for the duration of the elections the presence of a group of UN observers which can supervise the observation of procedural regulations for the holding these elections. At the appropriate time, we will make the necessary approaches to the UN General Secretariat.

Complying with the requests received from various parties, and in view of the short time left until April—which practically makes impossible the organization of elections—we propose that elections be held in the second part of May, namely on Sunday 20 May. We do not want to fix the day on the 13th... [laughter, commotion] because this may not be the best choice possible, and later, I believe, it is no longer possible. [sentence as heard] We believe that a longer postponement is impossible, as we must finally proceed to organize stable structures in our state. We can no longer continue to govern on a provisional basis.

In connection with the electoral campaign, we submit for the Council's discussion and approval the proposal to empower us with the mandate to issue a decree on state subsidies for political formations—in step with available possibilities, and on the basis of objective criteria applicable throughout the world—while also stipulating that it is forbidden to use funds and material provided from abroad. [indistinct voices, commotion]

Finally, I suggest that, in the communique to be released, we should call on all political formations—in view of the upcoming elections—to ensure a civilized electoral campaign, based on fair competition between programs, ideas, and viewpoints, which can ensure the election of skilled, competent, and unblemished men to the state's representative forums; people who are devoted to the interests of the country and people.

Let us avoid unfair and blind arguments, with dishonest means or attacks below the belt, as they say in sports. Unfortunately, such practices have not been unfamiliar in the history of Romanian elections and Caragiale [19th century Romanian playwright classic] has described them all too well in his works. We would like to avoid a repetition of all this type of situation. Let us become integrated into the practice of the civilized world—that is, let us instill a new kind of spirit and atmosphere in Romanian society, and let us all strive to strike such a

note in our political and public life, beginning with the upcoming electoral campaign.

NSF Issues Communique

AU2401105390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0957 GMT 24 Jan 90

["Communique From the Council of the National Salvation Front"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/1/1990—Tuesday 23 January, the National Salvation Front [NSF] Council met in session.

The following items were discussed:

1. The NSF and the upcoming elections.

2. Measures in support of farmers and farm units.

President Ion Iliescu said that lately many people of all walks of life had more and more insistently asked the Front to state its position on the elections. More particularly the requests were due to publicly stated opinions that the NSF should not run in the elections, but only organize them, because it exercises power in the state and is not a party. On this important question the following was said:

1. The fact that the NSF exercises political power in the state is not incompatible with its running in the elections. After all, this is the position of any political group in power.

2. The fact that the Front is not a political party but a mass movement generated by a revolutionary movement, which is not rigidly structured like a party, is not a handicap; it may rather become a virtue, a positive and dynamic element—which appears to be characteristic nowadays: the ecological movements in certain Western countries are not parties, yet they take part in the electoral battle, Poland's solidarity won the elections even though it is not a party, and the forums in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and the GDR which do not refer to themselves as parties are also taking an active part in the electoral process.

3. The legitimacy of the NSF cannot be questioned by anybody. It was the popular revolution that gave it legitimacy. "In our talks with many workers" President Ion Iliescu said "with the Jiu Valley and Maramures miners, with workers of several large Bucharest enterprises, with representatives of the Front's local organizations, free trade unions, youth organizations, and the parties that stated their adhesion to the Front's platform, the Front was specifically asked to openly state that it would run in the elections. They do not even see how the Front could not take part in elections". We were with the Front from the very first moment of the revolution and it is for the Front that we want to cast our vote, said the Jiu Valley miners.

The NSF as a movement was born in the revolutionary process, it is the outgrowth of the 22 December popular revolution. It took over the political leadership of the revolution, led the masses of youths, workers, intellectuals, and defeated, together with the Army, the special security detachments, the terrorists, to ensure the triumph of the revolution.

This is a fact which compels it not to desert the wide-ranging democratic reconstruction process that it set in motion.

There was a wide patriotic adherence to the programme platform worked out by the Front's Council. By assuming the lofty responsibility for the country's political leadership in so difficult and complicated circumstances, the Front committed itself to a huge national salvation effort, to economic recovery and the restoration of social and political life, a complex task that will take a long time. Under these circumstances, how could it stop its activity once the elections are over and ignore its responsibility?

4. The platform of the NSF is not made for a few months, it gives a long-term line for the renewal of Romanian society—politically, economically, socially, and morally. Besides, the national salvation aims, stability in all fields, will not be achieved by the time of elections, they will continue to be major commandments for a longer time. However, this platform must certainly be more clearly defined, in theory as well as in practice, to encompass aspects of social life. For that purpose, a competent commission should be set up to write the platform in view of the election campaign.

5. The NSF's participation in the elections is not a matter of personal ambition, it is a question of principle, of national interest for the promotion of a political platform that pursues to rally the active forces of the country around essential targets for Romania's renewal and prosperity.

Starting from these considerations, President Ion Iliescu said: "I would even say that the Front's participation in elections, as a factor of national equilibrium, is in the interest of political parties that are the NSF's opponents. On the strength of all these arguments I put before to the Council the decision to run in the elections for discussion and approval."

On the basis of discussions in the Council's previous meeting, the Legislative Commission put the finishing touches to the electoral bill that will be circulated to political parties and other interested formations this week, after which it will be published and submitted to a public debate.

The bill makes provision for the holding of free and fair elections.

During the meeting, Ion Iliescu made the following point:

"To prove our good faith, our wish for fair elections, I propose that in the name of the NSF Council we state, we welcome a UN observer group to monitor compliance

with the election rules of procedures. In due course necessary steps will be taken to the UN General Secretariat."

As far as the election date is concerned, in consideration of the proposals of various parties and of the short time which makes virtually impossible that elections be held in the course of April, it was suggested that they be set for 20 May. To defer them to a later date is not possible. A transition to more stable structures is imperative; one cannot go on with a provisional government.

In connection with the election campaign, it was proposed that a decree be issued the provisions of which include state subsidies for political formations and a ban on the use of money or material means from abroad.

Furthermore, all political parties were called upon to engage in a civilized election campaign on the basis of a fair confrontation of programmes, ideas, views which should end up in the election to the state's representative forums of people of quality and acknowledged competence who enjoy moral authority and are dedicated to the interests of the country, of the people.

A broad discussion followed which was joined by: Mircea Pusca (Cluj), M.Iacobescu (Suceava), Moisil Pamfil (Bistrita Nasaud), Domokos Geza (Bucharest), Horia Adrian Ungur (Satu Mare), Petrisor Morar (Timis), Patrubany Miklos (Cluj), Dumitrescu Mihai (Vilcea), Celac Mariana (Bucharest), Florin Cilinca (Galati Steel Combine), Pataki Em. (Haghita), Preda Nicu (Braila), Alex. Birladeanu (Bucharest), Ana Blandiana (Bucharest), Stuparu Timotei (Teleorman), Tantas Mihai (Maramures), Chetan Mihai (Hunedoara), Enache Marian (Vaslui), Andrei Plesu (Bucharest), Petre Roman (Bucharest), Liviu Stoiciu (Vrancea), Ruse Corneliu (Prahova), Dan Haulica (Bucharest), Sorin Botnar (Bucharest), Borza Octavian (Alba), Gelu Voican (Bucharest), Dan Gilea (Iasi), Dan Iosif (Bucharest), Burlacu Mihai (Brasov), Ion Vasile (Buzau), Calinescu Stefan (Bucharest), Fabini Hermann (Sibiu), Filipescu Radu (Bucharest), Silviu Brucan (Bucharest), Victor Surdu (Bucharest), N.S.Dumitru (Bucharest), Radulescu Iordan (Bucharest), Mady Solomon (Iasi), Romeo Raicu (Bucharest), Nicu Stancescu (Bucharest), Bogdan Popovici (Bucharest), Oliviu Tocaciu (Bucharest), Gabriel Andreescu (Bucharest).

Eventually, a vote was taken.

With 128 votes for, eight against and five abstentions the Council decided that the NSF should run in elections.

With 139 votes for, none against and two abstentions, the Council decided to postpone the elections initially set for April until Sunday 20 May.

The regulations for state subsidies to parties for their election campaign and the ban on subsidies from abroad were approved by the Council with 139 votes for and two abstentions.

The proposal to accept UN observers to supervise the technical aspects related to procedure of the elections was carried by the Council with 135 votes for, four against, and two abstentions.

On the second item of the agenda the Government's proposal in aid of farmers were discussed, namely to give them plots of land for long-term use. Furthermore, economic and financial measures were announced to benefit the farmers and the farm units; both cooperative and state-owned.

Further on Government Session

AU2401113390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1056 GMT 24 Jan 90

["Government Meeting"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/1/1990—Romania's Government gathered on Tuesday afternoon in a working meeting.

During the meeting Prime Minister Petre Roman asked the members of the Government to inform about the major problems confronting the national economy at present with a view to finding solutions to operatively solve them. Attention focused on the productive activity in the basic sectors of the economy, the employment of the work force, the resumption of investment projects, the ensurance of the strictly necessary imports, and of actions of direct cooperation on the basis of mutual advantage and interests.

A decision of the government was adopted regarding the setting up of an Interministerial Commission to solve the problems raised by representatives of the workers of the mining enterprises in the Jiu Valley. The Interministerial Commision will analyse the problems raised by the representatives of the workers in all the mining enterprises in the Jiu Valley at the working meeting of 19 January 1990 with the leadership of the National Salvation Front Council and Romania's Government.

The commision will take immediate action to operatively solve economic and social problems, both those specific to the mining combines in the Jiu Valley and those of the other mining units throughout the country.

Parties on NSF Participation in Elections

AU2301183490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1624 GMT 23 Jan 90

["The Political Life Elections: Viewpoints"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/1/1990—As has been announced, during a meeting on Sunday, January 21, with representatives of the youth, Mr Ion Iliescu said possibilities were looked into for the National Salvation Front [NSF] to take part in the forthcoming elections alongside the other parties, since it had a broad political platform that includes different stances and options

bespeaking the major interests of the Romanian society and it could assume fundamental responsibilities before the country.

How was this statement received?

Mr Sorin Botez, secretary for foreign affairs of the National Liberal Party told a "ROMPRES" editor: "The Front is free to appear before the electorate or not. We hope they will be loyal partners in the election campaign."

Mr Corneliu Coposu, president of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party said that both in his presence and in the presence of other front rankers of the NSF, Mr Iliescu had repeatedly stated that the Front would not enter the election campaign, but that the personalities in its composition were entitled to join in the election race.

"We have nothing against the Front's participation in the elections, either as a party or as a front," he said, "but they can do so only after acquiring the attributes imposed by the decree on the creation of parties the Front itself issued.

"We await their participation in the election race but we hope the terms will be equitable, meaning that they are to start from the same level other parties do and also renounce the assets and means they now have to the detriment of the other parties.

"We think that with Mr Iliescu's statement the original position of the Front has changed fundamentally, as there is an overt intention to prolong the Front's power beyond the elections. As the NSF now holds both the political and the state power it is necessary that, in case it enters the election race, a neutral government should secure a free course of honest elections, without causing suspicion, for the duration of the campaign."

Mr Cristian Butusina, president of the National Democratic Party said: "The Front cannot enter the elections as a Front. We are against it categorically. The Front can nominate its candidates—meaning personalities—for the elections but it cannot participate in the elections as a Front. It is a provisional ruling form, it is not a party. Entering the elections as a Front would mean that they consider themselves a political party and that the rumours about a putsch are true."

"ROMPRES" will inform of further significant stands this issue.

NSF Spokesman Speaks at News Conference

AU2201181190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1630 GMT 22 Jan 90

["News Conference With the NSF Spokesman"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/1/1990—The National Salvation Front [NSF] Council was not created as a political party, Aurel Dragos Munteanu, spokesman for the NSF Council, said during a news conference held on Monday January 22. Its creation, he said, was a spontaneous act, the fruit of those days' circumstances. The country as a whole feels the National Salvation Front Council should turn into a movement independent, from other political parties, and nominate its candidates for the forthcoming elections. For the time being I cannot say which is the way to follow. Our concern is the resolution of the urgent issues facing this country and politics comes afterwards.

In connection with the forthcoming elections, Aurel Dragos Munteanu said the Front wanted the suggested date to be observed.

Answering a question about the date of the trials against Ceausescu loyalists the NSF spokesman said they would open next week.

Referring to aspects of Romania's links with the Common Market and the CEMA, Mr Munteanu said negotiations were in progress with the EEC, which would hopefully yield fine results helping Romania to overcome the difficulties it encounters.

The CEMA, he opined, should be adapted to current needs in point of both organizational structure and financial levers.

Answering another question, Aurel Dragos Munteanu said: We rejoiced at President Bush's message assuring of total support to Romania. We appreciate his attitude and we assert our trust in the U.S.A.'s support.

NSF Says 'Free Europe' Provided Misinformation

AU2401130290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1201 GMT 24 Jan 90

["Statement"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/1/1990—The Press Office of the National Salvation Front [NSF] Council considers that the piece of information disseminated by the radio "Free Europe" in its morning broadcast Wednesday, 24 January, which says "the National Salvation Front decided to turn into a party", is a telling proof of misinformation of public opinion. It is the only radio station that so rendered the meeting of the NSF Council.

Prosecutor General on Upcoming Trials

AU2301183090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1554 GMT 23 Jan 90

["Details on the Trial of Ceausescu Loyalists"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/1/1990—A number of details concerning the forthcoming trial of four of the dictator's loyalists were supplied by Mr Gheorghe Robu, Romania's procurator general.

It will be a public trial, he said. According to the information I have so far the case will be tried by the Territorial Tribunal of Bucharest in a large courtroom (seating roughly 700) at the National Defence Ministry. There will be no problems for journalists to attend.

Answering a question relative to the discretion round the respective trial and whether the four were guilty or not, the prosecutor general said: It is my opinion that they are guilty but this is something for the tribunal to decide. The two dictators committed their crime against the Romanian people with the direct, extensive participation of numerous dubious, servile individuals who made up a true camarilla and were sophisticatedly organized in a number of party and state bodies. These individuals are being under investigation now and they will be sent to court on charges of abetting genocide. As for discretion, it is needed as we have to ensure the safety of those under inquiry.

At present, Mr Robu also said, we are investigating other persons who are charged with other deeds, such as the undermining of the national economy, for instance. These are long-term investigations as we have to assess the extent of damage caused to public wealth, which calls for both time and complex evidence. And since we talk about the truth, I must say that the truth cannot be partial. Therefore, defendants (as well as those who are to follow ...) might be sent to court again.

Prosecutor General Interviewed

AU2001165090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0950 GMT 20 Jan 90

["Romanians Have Never Been Revengeful"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/1/1990—Now all the heads of the dictator's clique are under arrest. They are to penally answer for their particularly grave acts, Gheorghe Robu, Romania's prosecutor-general, stated in an interview with TINERETUL LIBER. Among them, Manescu Manea, Dinca Ion, Bobu Emil, and Postelnicu Tudor are to be put on trial for complicity to genocide, to the order of shooting at the crowd and the killing of the demonstrators. Therefore, they are not going to answer only for the mere fact that they held a high post.

Expressing his jurist's opinion on the abolition of the death penalty, Gheorghe Robu stated: such a penalty can no longer be applied in modern conditions. Romanians have never been vengeful. This is what I think defines us as a civilized European nation. These trials will bring the Romanian justice before the whole world. And I assure you we will do justice in the spirit of the law, without any influence.

Silviu Brucan on Revolution, Trials

PM2301153890 Paris LE FIGARO in French 22 Jan 90 p 5

[Interview with Silviu Brucan, National Salvation Front Council Executive Bureau member, by Pierre Bois in Bucharest—date not given]

[Text] Bucharest—[LE FIGARO] A fragile order is beginning to be established in Bucharest. Do you think that this is a temporary or a definitive return to a calm situation?

[Brucan] Order reigns in the city. Life has returned to normal. The demonstrations have been channeled. But, as regards the universities and factories, there are still serious problems. The students and workers fought well but they know nothing about democracy. They confuse it with anarchy.

[LE FIGARO] To put it simply, does that mean that although things look normal again, people's minds have not calmed down?

[Brucan] Yes, this is the logical consequence of the December fighting; and it will last several months. The workers have replaced managers deemed too close to Ceausescu's ideas. In some factories, the managers were changed three times in three weeks.

[LE FIGARO] This is particularly true because the "reasonable method" follows the National Salvation Front [NSF] Council's more radical methods. Although the death of the conducator and his wife scarcely caused any outrage, the hasty trial shocked people.

[Brucan] I was at the Defense Ministry when the decision was made. We discussed it for three hours. Leaders of the Front and the Army were there. Our considerations fell into three categories: political, legal, and military. It was the military considerations which prevailed.

[LE FIGARO] Was that the reason for the trial, which was not really a trial?

[Brucan] We would have preferred a big public trial for the public's edification. But, given the situation on 24 December, that was a utopian idea. That Sunday was the most dangerous day for the Romanian revolution. The Securitate had attacked the television station with machine guns and grenades. What saved the Front were the 3,000 students who came to form a shield. In addition, we thought that there was a risk of the Securitate attacking the barracks in which Nicolae Ceausescu and his wife Elena were held. If they had been freed and had regained control of their men, there would have been a bloodbath in Romania.

[LE FIGARO] But what is the meaning of the cuts made in the film of the discussions?

[Brucan] I saw the film in its original form, in full. It was of very poor quality. It was made by amateurs. When the trial was decided, five military judges plus two civilians

representing the Front and a cameraman left in a helicopter. The military judges agreed to go on one condition—that their names would not be published and that their faces would not be seen. That led to the famous cuts.

[LE FIGARO] What also created disquiet was the crude behavior and the violent and simplistic statements by the prosecution.

[Brucan] You know, at that time nobody was thinking about style. What is important is that the justification for our decision was confirmed: After the announcement of the death of Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu and its confirmation by pictures, the Securitate units began to surrender.

[LE FIGARO] But did that death, planned in Bucharest, have support from the people?

[Brucan] I can tell you that, when the firing squad was formed, the officer commanding it asked five soldiers to take a step forward and prepare to fire. The firing squad comprised 80 men. All fired at the same time. There were 120 bullet wounds on the bodies of Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu.

[LE FIGARO] When will the former regime's main leaders be tried?

[Brucan] Any day now. But, the reason for the delay is that we want the trials to be exemplary. It is also because we changed our minds several times about the death penalty. But this time abolition has been decreed.

[LE FIGARO] Can you make an assessment one month after the events?

[Brucan] It is difficult. Around 10,000 people died. The figure of 75,000 is an estimate of all the victims during the conducator's reign. The economic situation is disastrous. But, fortunately, the country's finances are in a good state. There is no foreign debt and we have good currency reserves which enabled us to immediately import food worth $300 million. The legacy in this sphere is not completely negative.

[LE FIGARO] Outside the stores in Bucharest, everybody is wondering about the future. How do you see the future?

[Brucan] Under Ceausescu, the economy was subject to arbitrary decisions. With the 12 percent of land allocated to them, the peasants accounted for half of Romanian production. By encouraging the farmers again, by releasing 5,000 square meters of land per peasant, we are counting on a rapid quantitative increase.

[LE FIGARO] How do you envisage the recovery in the agricultural, industrial, and other spheres?

[Brucan] According to my personal estimate, recovery will take 3 years for agriculture and 10 years for industry.

[LE FIGARO] And how long will it take to restore normal political life?

[Brucan] I would like to be able to say that it will happen very soon. But, in fact, we have no democratic tradition. The people must learn democracy, and we must learn to govern democratically. Our first lesson will begin the day of the election campaign.

[LE FIGARO] How long do you think it will take for Romania to become a democracy?

[Brucan] In 10 years social life will be stable. But we will have to wait 20 years for democracy; at least that is my personal opinion.

Iliescu, Roman Receive Jiu Valley Miners

AU1901215490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1917 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Representatives of the workers from Jiu Valley mining enterprises met today with Ion Iliescu, president of the National Salvation Front [NSF] Council, and Prime Minister Petre Roman. The dialogue dealt with concrete issues pertaining to the miners' life and work. Both sides searched for and found positive and realistic solutions for a number of problems concerning the underground work, social security, housing, and recreation conditions for the Jiu Valley workers.

The largest majority of the miners' requests were solved by joint agreement with Minister of Mines Nicolae Dicu, who attended the dialogue; the solutions adopted will become valid as of 1 February.

Consequently, as of that date, the miners will work underground only five days per week in six-hour shifts; the delegates pledged to fulfill the production levels planned for a six-day period. Double wages will be paid for shifts worked on legal holidays—that is, for six days of religious and national holidays per year—Easter, Christmas, Saint Varvara, and 22 December.

Recreation vacations for those working underground will last for 30-36 days, depending on length of service. Bonuses for night shifts will increase from 15 to 25 percent. Full wages will be paid during hospitalization for work-related illnesses and accidents. If miners working underground die, the spouses who are housewives will be entitled to inheritor pensions. All alpine huts and other sports facilities built by the Jiu Valley miners will be returned to the ownership of the mining enterprises.

Regarding other problems, which could not be solved immediately because resources are still lacking, it has been decided to examine them, and a positive answer should be given within an amount of time jointly agreed upon. The measures taken during this dialogue will also apply to other mines, in accordance with specific conditions prevailing in each mine. The delegates of the Jiu Valley miners firmly pledged themselves to fulfilling the planned production levels, so much in demand for the

national economy these days, and also expressed their support for the NSF platform-program.

Regulations on Credit to Agricultural Producers

AU2001203890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1821 GMT 20 Jan 90

["New Regulations on Credits to Farm Producers "—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/1/1990—The credits granted by the Agricultural Bank are no longer conditional upon the conclusion of contracts with the state for the production to be obtained but only upon activities guaranteeing that credits are be paid back on time, said the chairman of the Bank for Agriculture and Food Industry, Mr. Ion Rusinaru, in an interview with the newspaper ADEVARUL. He also said that credits had an upper ceiling and that their volume differed from one unit to the other according to pleriminary production levels. When credits are granted, he said, priority is given to units with a poorer economic and financial situation. These credits, the granting of which is conditional upon guarantees of on-time and integral payback, are given for periods of up to one year and the interest rates on them are very low—of 1.5 percent in the case of producer cooperative farms and of two percent in the case of state farming enterprises.

To financially support small farm producers, Mr. Rusinaru also printed out, it was agreed that anyone proving he is able to pay back the money received in the form of credit from his farm produce surpluses can benefit from both credits for current production activities, which have to be paid back in a year's time, and long-term credits (for periods of up to five years) to help him buy production and drought aimals, seedlings, construction materials for shelters, and others.

Deputy Agriculture Minister on Imports, Exports

AU2201182190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1620 GMT 22 Jan 90

["Agriculture: Exports Are To Start With Imports"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/1/1990—Romanian agriculture will export its surpluses in order to import what it needs. We do not intend to build greenhouses for exotic fruit when it is much more convenient to buy coffee and oranges and sell wheat and wine in exchange, said Victor Surdu, minister secretary of state in the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry. Romania has always been exporting farm produce. Our poverty was not caused by exports (which virtually dropped 88 percent over 1978-1989) but by poor productions obtained according to "recommendations." The few exports there were ill-thought, he added. And there were no imports. Now we are going to import. Of the 28 companies contacted for that purpose, 28 agreed to organize specialized symposia in Bucharest and other towns. So, Romanian agriculture will link up with European agriculture quite soon. We will give our citizens good, abundant food so we will not have to import medicines.

As for organization, Mr Victor Surdu said in an interview with the newspaper "ADEVARUL" that for the first time in the past four decades the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry and the other central and territorial agricultural bodies would no longer work out a national or county plan for agricultural development.

Starting this year, each farming unit will have its own production plan according to the structure and dimensions agreed upon in a general meeting. The object of planning in agriculture is only the public property of farm cooperatives and state farming units. After completing their production plan the respective units are to report to county agricultural directorates the structure of cultures or of the livestock, the planned average and overall production and its destination, which are to be passed on to the relevant ministry with a view to ensuring the entire material base needed to score the planned productions, Victor Surdu wound up.

Olariou Speaks on Nuclear Energy Safeguards

AU2201190590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1817 GMT 22 Jan 90

["Concerns in Nuclear Activities Control"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/1/1990—Here is the statement of Mr Stefan Alexandru Olariu, minister, secretary of state, chairman of the National Commission for Nuclear Activities Control of Romania, to ROMPRES:

Romania is and will be meeting all obligations undertaken under the international safeguards agreement entered into, whether multilateral like NPT [Non-Proliferation Treaty], IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency] statute or safeguards agreement and subsidiary arrangement with IAEA, or bilateral like those concluded with Canadian, U.S. or other governments, covering erection and operation of the Cernavoda nuclear power plant, various research reactors, and any other projects using fission material, both at present and in the future. Through this, the principle of observing all obligations previously undertaken by the Romanian state, as expressed under the statement of the National Salvation Front, during the very day it assumed the power, December 22, 1989, is being reflected as far as nuclear weapon non-proliferation and the use for only peaceful purposes of the nuclear energy are concerned.

The same principle of observing all international obligations undertaken applies to physical protection of fission materials, nuclear reactor safety, radiological protection for wokers safety, as well as for population and environment protection.

It is the Romanian Government's decision to pay due attention towards quality assurance of the nuclear power plants, in order to meet quality assurance requirements during manufacturing of materials and components, during erection work on site, as well as during commissioning, operation, maintenance, alteration and decommissioning of the nuclear reactors.

With the aim to perform these prerogatives, a specialized governmental agency, National Commission for Nuclear Activities Control, has been set up. This way, the regulatory, licensing and enforcing functions, placed with the new national commission, are independent versus promotional functions either of nuclear power deployment, placed with Ministry of Electrical Energy, or of the deployment of radiation sources and or generating facilities for non-energetic uses, for which Institute of Atomic Physics is being kept responsible. This share of responsibilities avoids conflicts of interests as they were present in the organization chart of the former State Committee for Nuclear Energy, which has been responsible for overall nuclear power program coordination, for engineering, design and commissioning of the nuclear island, training of the operating staff, manufacturing of nuclear fuel, specialized reactor control and safety systems and radiation sources and, at the same time, has been held responsible for licensing and enforcing all these activities.

The National Commission for Nuclear Activities Control sincerely states its willingness to promote the spirit of the international cooperation in each of its five major areas of interests, namely safeguards, physical protection, safety, quality assurance and radiological protection, and express its thanks in advance to all equivalent national agencies from other countries, as well as to the public foundations, companies and private persons which will understand our needs and will want to offer their help, mainly to enable us to set up the specific informational system, to ensure the much needed field portable equipment, to train young fellows for our growing staff, to get experts where our weaknesses show up and consultants for independent review as needed. This will help national commission to an early and effective start towards reaching a fully operational stage in the shortest possible time, to enable us to meet our role towards ensuring radiological protection of the wonderful Romanian folk, contributing to the environment protection on the national territory, to prevent trans-frontier radiological effects, and to the nuclear weapons non-proliferation in Europe, all over the world.

Olariu Assesses Cernavoda Nuclear Plan Project

AU2301075990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0721 GMT 23 Jan 90

["CAE Cernavoda—A Fundamental Overhaul"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/1/1990—Stefan Alexandru Olariu, chairman of the Nuclear Activity Control Commission, set up on 8 January under a decree of the National Salvation Front Council, assesses that the project of the nuclear power plant at Cernavoda, now under construction, must be revised and work resumed on different bases. Everthing must be verified, he said specifying that in a few days the Nuclear Activity Control Commission will propose the cessation of works. As a matter of fact activity has stopped at Cernavoda since 22 December 1989.

Deputy Economic Minister on Economic Recovery

AU2201182390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1601 GMT 22 Jan 90

["The National Economy: Reinvigoration and Concerns"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/1/1990—There is a reinvigoration of economic activities, said Mr Dumitru Breban, deputy minister of the national economy.

We have growing productions of basic products such as coal, natural gas, chemical yarn and fibres, medicines, detergents, fabrics, readymades and knitwear.

However, there is concern over the extremely low productions of copper, lead, zinc, propylene, ethylene and synthetic rubber, which virtually blocked inter-enterprise economic relations. The fundamental cause behind that situation is the disbalance inherited from the old regime, adding to which are also the present circumstances—activities have not been resumed in all strength.

Mr Dumitru Breban said an emergency programme had been worked out for the first trimester which is intended to impart coherence and continuity to production processes. Mutual relations between enterprises are to be set on contracts that boast flexible terms.

A centralized system is still employed to guiding resources. This programme is necessary at present for reasons that have to do with the scarcity of resources and the need to avoid credits unless they are truly needed and prove efficient.

Centralization will be further reduced as the economy recovers and a change is wrought in the tendency to "recommendations from the top," Mr Breban also said.

Daily Warns About Danger of Inflation

AU2201163790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0949 GMT 22 Jan 90

["Inflation—A Danger"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/1/1990—The money imbalance and the inflationist tension that emerged against the background of economic destabilization caused by the absurd, excessively centralized planning system, by the lack of economic initiative and liberties at any level arouse uncertainty and unrest with the population, Mr Nicolae Dardac shows in an article run by "ADEVARUL."

The dictator's obsession to do everything in a haste, to industrialize at any cost, waste huge funds for inopportune and unprofitable purposes, the excessive accumulation to the detriment of consumption and the export of all the country's products, foodstuffs in particular, the lack of realism and the false reports seriously grew the imbalances in all economic sectors causing instability and inflation.

The export of almost all consumer goods and the quasi total cessation of import of such goods led to an acute demand of such products in the market, which stimulated the inflationist phenomenon and the black market with nefarious consequences for the population's purchasing power. The agricultural production decreased and the setting of ever higher prices on energy and raw materials also contributed to the destabilization of the economy and its pushing to inflationism. All this could be done in a framework of great and long deviations from the financial discipline replaced by indications come from the top and by dictate. That is why in the last years of dictatorship, the inflationist phenomenon persisted and aggravated, which led to blocking the country's economic and financial mechanism, to eliminating tremendous material values worth hundreds of billions lei from economic exchanges, a pressing on the active money fund and gradually turning it into an additional fund with no cover in commodities and services. This favoured the substitution of sorts eventually leading to raising prices, to inflation.

Such baneful consequences could be removed only through decentralization and by reinforcing the objective economic laws, Mr Nicolae Dardac opines. The economy should be restructured according to the principles of efficiency and profitability, and the aim of production in the new democratic society should be to meet the population's demands and the achievement of a balance between the economic sectors. A useful measure in this respect already announced by the National Salvation Front is a step in financing expensive and unprofitable investment projects. The central departments and enterprises should have free liberty and genuine autonomy in working out their own plans and in establishing the products' structure.

Economist Nicolae Dardac also suggests the elaboration of balanced budgets and financial balances, a rational proportioning of credits and of financial resources for investment projects, a moderate rise in salaries, rigour in the issue and distribution of monetary funds and severe control over prices and tariffs.

New Bucharest Mayor Assesses Priorities

AU2301182090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1636 GMT 23 Jan 90

["The City Revives"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/1/1990—Romania's capital city, Bucharest, has Mr Dan Predescu as its first mayor after the revolution, who announced that a team of high professionalism was set up.

The first question to be studied and solved by the new municipality is housing. Concurrently, an inventory is made of the possibilities to improve gas, water and electric supply, urban transport, and sanitation services. One of the mayorship's current concerns is to meet the population's foodstuffs requirements, Mr Predescu stated also urging citizens not to uselessly buy large quantities of products, thus destabilizing the market.

The mayor of the Romanian capital city considers that the most significant support the residents can give is to work efficiently and understand that democracy and liberty do not mean immediate and unconditional satisfaction of one's own needs, irrespective of the ways and means they use to do it.

We need calm and confidence in goodwill people. We want to show we can fulfil everything the NSF Council enshrined in its platform.

Calls for Religious Instruction in Schools

AU2301155490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1337 GMT 23 Jan 90

["Why Has the Romanian Orthodox Church Not Had a More Courageous Attitude?"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/01/1990—The department for religious denominations had a nefarious impact on the church. Were we to know what it did, what pressure it exerted on the clergy we would better understand why the Orthodox Church could not defend itself better and have a more courageous attitude, stated to a ROMPRES editor Mr Nicolae Stoicescu, head of the Ministry of Religious Denominations under organization.

The ministry, the well-known expert in Romanian Middle Ages further said, has numerous problems to solve, wants to actually ensure the freedom of the church, fine relations among the faithful as well as among the various denominations in our country. We will encourage religious education and I personally want to suggest the introduction of religion in education of all grades, optionally of course, without exams. The priests, the hierarchs must be encouraged to participate to an ever greater extent to the moral recovery of the nation.

Sergiu Celac Writes To UN Secretary General

AU1201193590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1920 GMT 12 Jan 90

["The Romanian Foreign Minister's Letter to the UN Secretary General"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 12/1/1990 —During a meeting with Romanian journalists, on January 11, Romulus Neagu, deputy foreign minister, spokesman for the ministry of foreign affairs, informed that as part of

the steps taken by the Foreign Ministry with a view to removing the obstacles still posed to Romania's links with other countries as well as in international organizations as far as human rights are concerned, on January 11, 1990 Sergiu Celac, Romania's minister of foreign affairs, sent a letter to UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, which outlines developments in Romania's political life after the revolution, as expressed by a large number of normative acts and measures to guarantee man's rights and freedoms—issues which were, with good reason, of great concern at the UN and in other international bodies in the past.

The letter expresses the Romanian side's willingness to contribute in the future to the clarification of any problems that might crop up, in line with its international commitments.

The letter shows that after the revolution Romania has embarked upon an essentially new road. From the very beginning, the National Salvation Front [NSF] Council set itself to observe Romania's international commitments, to promote a home and foreign policy subordinated to the needs and interests of the development of human beings, to fully observe man's rights and freedoms, including the right to free travel, to guarantee the establishment of democracy, freedom and dignity for all the country's inhabitants.

The letter shows that a new constitution is being worked out and so is a new electoral law for the free elections due in April 1990. It says the NSF made a statement on the rights of national minorities in Romania and suggested the adoption of a law of national minorities, as well as the creation of a ministry of national minorities. The process is also outlined of reviewing the country's every law, according to the Romanian people's requirements for freedom, democary and dignity.

In light of these developments, the letter reads, it is obvious that the procedures and reports on the non-observance of human rights in Romania, which are now at issue in UN bodies and other international organizations, as well as a number of situations which were noted and which the Romanian people condemned and the revolution wiped out are no longer relevant for today's free and democratic Romania.

In conclusion, the letter expresses the hope that the corresponding bodies of the UN and of other international organizations will consider the present situation, the renewing democratic processes under way in Romania, as well as Romania's attachment to the United Nations' principles and targets, Romania being ready to undertake actions in line with the constitutive acts of that organization.

Iliescu, Roman, Others Meet EEC Vice President

AU1401185390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1716 GMT 14 Jan 90

["Ion Iliescu and Petre Roman Meet with Frans Andriessen"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 14/1/1990—The president of the National Salvation Front [NSF] Council, Ion Iliescu, and Prime Minister Petre Roman received separately, on 14 January, Mr Frans Andriessen, EEC vice-president, external relations councillor, who came to Bucharest on an official visit.

The talks, which were attended by Sergiu Celac, foreign affairs minister, Mircea Mitran, deputy foreign affairs minister, Ion Aurel, deputy minister of foreign trade, covered questions of current concern for both sides.

Ion Iliescu and Petre Roman outlined the political, economic, and social actions of the NSF and the government in the direction of democracy and respect for human rights and liberties. They also spoke about the problems the Romanian economy has to cope with, and the solutions for reconstruction that are being used or planned. They said how pleased they were with the acts of sympathy of the EEC commission and member countries for the Romanian revolution for the restoration of a civilian society which guarantees the triumph of democracy, liberty and dignity to all the citizens of the country. In context, they thanked the EEC for its emergency humanitarian aid to Romania.

Mr Frans Andriessen showed that the EEC countries welcomed the democratic changes in Romania and stated their and the EEC's readiness to support and aid Romania overcome its economic problems, for reconstruction.

Both sides highlighted that the democratic changes in the country opened up new avenues for cooperation between Romania and each of the EEC member countries as well as the EEC as a whole.

The same day Romania's Foreign Affairs Minister Sergiu Celac had talks with Frans Andriessen on specific aspects of Romania's relations with the EEC and on the establishment of diplomatic relations between Romania and the EEC.

Roman Meets With Swedish Foreign Minister

AU1701094690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2036 GMT 16 Jan 90

["Romania's Prime Minister Receives Swedish Foreign Minister"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 16/01/1990—Petre Roman, prime minister of Romania, received on January 16 Sweden's Foreign Minister Sten Andersson, who is paying an official visit to Bucharest.

The Romanian prime minister referred to the people's revolution in Romania, the actions taken by the National Salvation Front and the Romanian Government, by the bodies of the new power in the political and socioeconomic fields, for the promotion of democracy in all areas of the socioeconomic and political life, for the ensurance of respect for man's rights and freedoms, also highlighting the problems and difficulties the Romanian society encounters, as well as the solutions envisaged for the country's reconstruction.

On behalf of the Swedish Government and people Sten Andersson conveyed the most sincere congratulations on the deep-going changes made in Romania for the establishment of democracy, freedom, and human dignity.

Both sides showed that the democratic changes in Romania put conditions in place for the traditional Romanian-Swedish relations to resume their natural course, the course of close cooperation in all fields, in the mutual interest and for mutual benefit. Steps for the development of Romanian-Swedish links on various planes were agreed upon.

Iliescu, Celac Receive Moldavian SSR Writers

AU1701200790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1902 GMT 17 Jan 90

["Visit by Men of Letters and Writers From the Moldavian SSR"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/1/1990—Ion Iliescu, president of the National Salvation Front Council, met on Wednesday in the afternoon with a group of men of letters and writers from the Moldavian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], who are paying a visit to Romania.

Aspects related to cultural cooperation and interhuman contacts between Romania and the Moldavian SSR, set on the lasting foundation of the common language and spirituality, were discussed.

The interview was attended by Sergiu Celac, minister of foreign affairs.

Also present was Y. M. Tyazhelnikov, ambassador of the Soviet Union in Bucharest.

Talks 'Fruitful'

AU2201181390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1550 GMT 22 Jan 90

["Bucharest-Kishinev: Unexpectedly Fruitful Talks"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/1/1990—A delegation of the Moldavian SSR led by Nicolae Ion Dudau, vice-chairman of the State Planning Committee, paid a visit to Romania over 15-21 January. The talks with representatives of ministries and decision makers in Romania were, as the head of the delegation of the Moldavian SSR stated to "ROMANIA LIBERA" newspaper, "unexpectedly fruitful, materializing in a number of economic and cultural agreements."

The volume of commercial exchanges is to reach the 11 million ruble mark. It was agreed that the Romanian workers build 6,000 flats in Kishinev with all due facilities. On a cultural plane, the two sides are to open bookshops in Bucharest and Kishinev on reciprocal terms.

Bulgarian Envoy Says Welcomes Revolution

AU1901200090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1730 GMT 19 Jan 90

["The Bulgarian People Welcomes the Victorious Revolution in Romania"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 19/1/1990—"It was with joy and admiration that the Bulgarian people welcomed the news of Romania's triumphant revolution against Nicolae Ceausescu's totalitarian regime," said Bulgaria's ambassador in Bucharest, Mr Tsvetan Nikolov, in an interview with 19 January "TINERETUL LIBER." "Beyond their natural specific differences, the processes occurred in Romania and Bulgaria, which were aimed at liquidating the totalitarian regime and at establishing true freedom and democracy in each of the two countries, are similar," he said, pointing out that the Romanian people had always harboured feelings of sincere friendship and mutual respect for each other.

In his interview, the Bulgarian ambassador showed that the links between the two dictators, Zhivkov and Ceausescu, were phony. Owing to serious errors on the part of the old regimes, the ties between Romania and Bulgaria were adversely affected which resulted in stagnating economic links. "The megalomania of the former leaders, who planned bilateral links to develop at high rates, proved its inconsistency, as those high rates could never be attained," Mr Nikolov said.

Considering that the time has come for efficiency in Romanian-Bulgarian relations on all planes, Mr Nikolov said the Bulgarian side attached great importance to direct links in production, between similar enterprises and organizations in the two countries, to intensified commodity exchanges and interhuman contacts, to the free assertion of ethnic nationalities.

FRG Envoy Says Aid To Pay for Electricity

AU1901223290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2037 GMT 19 Jan 90

["Aid for Romania From West Germany"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 19/1/1990—The ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany informed the Romanian Government that Bundestag allotted 50 million DM to Romania in two stages.

In a first stage Romania will receive 25 million DM starting Monday, 22 January, zero hours, to cover the cost of electric power supply for 35 days.

In a second stage, another 25 million DM will cover the electric power supply for another 35 days.

ADEVARUL Interviews Hungary's Pozsgay

AU1801140290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1329 GMT 18 Jan 90

["Development of Bilateral Relations a Problem of National Interest for Romania and Hungary"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 18/01/1990—The development of the relations between Romania and Hungary is a problem of national interest for both countries and a problem of long perspective that must be placed above the interests of various parties, stated Imre Pozsgay, minister secretary of state of the Government of the Hungarian Republic, in an interview with daily ADEVARUL published in the Bucharest paper's January 18 issue.

Welcoming the promising resumption of the Romanian-Hungarian intergovernment relations, the Hungarian minister declares for intense negotiations in view of rebuilding the soonest the links destroyed by the dictatorship, especially the bilateral cultural and scientific links with an official protocol having to be drafted. As for the evolution of the economic relations Imre Pozsgay considers that the existence of general normal, well-balanced Romanian-Hungarian relations is the prerequisite of cooperation. He welcomes the Romanian side's declaration that it will give special attention to the Romanian-Hungarian relations, considering that the links with Romania must hold a prominent place also in the Hungarian policy. The respondent mentions that besides the amplification of the commercial exchanges, the Hungarian side pursues the starting of a framework of direct cooperation, the setting up the soonest of Romanian-Hungarian joint enterprises and of banking societies and institutions of mutual interest.

Imre Pozsgay highlights in his interview that the Magyar minority in Romania and the Romanian minority in Hungary respectively have a key role in the development of the relations between the two countries and states his confidence that the securing of the national minorities' rights is a natural consequence of democracy.

CSSR Envoy 'Optimistic' Over Future Ties

AU2001164890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0906 GMT 20 Jan 90

["Statement by Czechoslovak Ambassador"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/1/1990—The Czechoslovak ambassador to Bucharest, Jan Papp, stated in an interview with ADEVARUL that he was optimistic as regards future relations with Romania.

The Czechoslovak-Romanian ties are traditional even if along history they had different intensity. As for their future, we wish to consolidate their democratic nucleus and develop them on a mutually advantageous basis. We attach great importance to the expansion of direct contacts among people, communities, institutions and between the state administration bodies. The ties on a political party line could become a dynamizing element. We expect that bilateral economic relations, which are developing rather well, be stimulated by a broader application of superior forms of economic collaboration, and we hope in a recovery of their structure. We also think of a flexibility of contacts at various administrative levels.

Interview With SFRY Ambassador Boro Denkov

AU2301124090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1145 GMT 23 Jan 90

["Prerequisites for Growing Romanian-Yugoslav Relations"—ROMPRES healine]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/1/1990—In an interview with the Bucharest daily TINERETUL LIBER, Yugoslav Ambassador Boro Denkov assesses that there are real prerequisites for the expansion and diversification of the Yugoslav-Romanian ties in all areas, which the Ceausescu regime tried to bring them to the lowest level. The technical and scientific knowledge would have to be disseminated both ways as the currents do, while the cultural values should intersect, the Yugoslav ambassador opines, considering that economic cooperation can also be consolidated against the background of technical and scientific cooperation by giving up the petty haggling practiced so far.

We shall enter the large spheres of cooperation with investments made by both sides and with joint participation on third markets, and we shall find ways, chances, and ideas apt to open and reopen cultural and information centres on a reciprocity basis.

Referring to the fact that Romania still needs humanitarian aid, the Yugoslav ambassador mentions that by the end of this month the decision makers in the two countries are to meet to plan further Yugoslav material assistance.

* New Data on Ceausescus' Arrest, Behavior

90EB0189B Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 11 Jan 89 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Major General Jean Moldoveanu, first deputy minister of the interior and chief of the General Police Inspectorate by P. Petre—date and place not given]

[Text] [ADEVARUL] After carrying items describing the arrest of the two loathsome dictators in ADEVARUL of

4 and 5 January, several readers asked us for futher details. Major General, please be so kind as to answer the request.

[Moldoveanu] As I said in the interview published, the two tyrants were arrested by policemen with immediate help from citizens of Dimbovita. I want to note that the policemen in question were neither high-ranking, nor did they have important positions, but they were men of special moral fiber who had along with their families suffered because of the old regime. That is probably why one of the two policemen carefully watched the two dictators' faces when he invited them to share his food: brown bread and meat patties. The two cast oblique, reproachful glances at each other, and he [Ceausescu] spat out: "What do they expect me to do with this brick?" At which she said in a metallic voice: "See what happened because we listened to others and didn't fire Milea on Sunday?"

[ADEVARUL] How did they sleep the first night, after fleeing by helicopter through Snagov?

[Moldoveanu] Every night there was a policeman on guard in the same room with them. There were only a few pieces of furniture and three beds in the room. I will tell you a secret: the policeman was only a non-commissioned officer, but he had been principally responsible for their arrest and was a very good man. When the two heard shots outside, they began to shake with fear and to hide, first under the table, then under the bed. "Watch your hides! It wouldn't have come to this if you had given the people food!" the policeman told them. And what do you think? Not even then, not even in the situation in which they were, were the two able to shed the lies with which they deceived the people for so many years. The tyrant of tyrants began to "teach" the policeman, making all kinds of calculations, and stammering, heavy-tongued, poured forth figures of his own invention about how much food he gave this country per capita.

[ADEVARUL] General, were there moments during the arrest and later, at which the two could see with their own eyes what was in fact happening around them?

[Moldoveanu] Yes. When they were brought into the yard of the county police station, he immediately asked those who had arrested him: "You have delivered us into the hands of these good-for-nothings?"

[ADEVARUL] Who were the "good-for-nothings?"

[Moldoveanu] The citizens who had come to actually help arrest them and especially to see that they did not get away. While they were walking to the car that was to take them from the police station to the military unit I mentioned in the other interview, where they were to be more secure, those embittered people were hardly able to contain their rage and not to tear the Ceausescus to pieces, but they still shouted at the two: "You left us without bread, without heat, without light!" At that, the two hurried toward the car, huddling and curling down so as not to see the people anymore. After that, at the military unit, the same non-commissioned officer talked about "little prince Nicu," telling them to their faces: "You gave away a lot of Baragan crops to pay damages for the woman he threw out of the high-rise window." "Not true," she replied peevishly; "our son had nothing to do with women." Can you believe that? When everyone around the Ceausescu clan was well aware of the drunken sprees, scandals, accidents, and amorous adventures of their equally loathsome offspring? Most of the time the two were shaking with fear and frowning at each other. They kept reproaching each other. To cheer them up and pass the time, the policeman gave the tyrant a book of the ninth congress he had found in the room. The tyrant picked it up, turned a few pages, and tossed it onto the bed. He gave her a book, too. She stared at one page for a full ½ hour, on the clock!

[ADEVARUL] Did they not try to bribe the policeman at all?

[Moldoveanu] Indeed they did! At one point he offered the policeman 5 million.

[ADEVARUL] Lei?

[Moldoveanu] No, dollars. I repeat, $5 million!

[ADEVARUL] What for, so many millions?

[Moldoveanu] To "rescue" them and take them to Pitesti, because, the tyrant told him, he had a safe hiding place there. And if not to Pitesti, then he was to smuggle them out anyway he could and escort them to Voineasa. Seeing that the policeman was not to be moved, the tyrannical nabob raised the ante, promising even more than 5 million, so he could pay off others who could help. The policeman again pretended not to hear, thinking aloud of all the money he had spent to fix up his apartment, shoddily built to save materials at his "instructions," at which the dictator asked: "What ruler ever built as much as I did?"

[ADEVARUL] Meaning he, the ruler, not the people!

[Moldoveanu] And so, megalomaniac and brutal as always, but somewhat calmer, seeing that he could not persuade the policeman, he said: "I would have built you a second capital city at Tirgoviste." During the ride from the seed center to Tirgoviste, every time the station asked the policeman if everything was all right, she would interrupt and tell him not to answer. Finally, after 1 day and 1 night in that company, the dictator asked the policeman to get him another suit of clothes.

[ADEVARUL] Well, he was used to dressing like that, every day a different suit. What did the policeman say to him?

[Moldoveanu] That he had no English cloth for the moment, nor did he think he would get any any time soon, but that in any event, it wouldn't be long and the dictator would not need them anymore...

* Minutes of PEC Meeting on Timisoara Revolt

90EB0188A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 10 Jan 90 p 3

[Text] Herewith the complete transcript of the 17 December 1989 meeting of the Political Executive Committee [PEC] of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP) Central Committee, which will permit the readers to realize how the dictators viewed the revolt in Timisoara and how insistently they demanded its bloody suppression. However, we want to call attention to the remarks of one man at the discussion: General Milea. Now, when the facts are known, Gen Milea's gesture was designed to let the dictators think that he was carrying out their orders.

As for the rest, judge for yourselves.

The meeting was chaired by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general.

The meeting was attended by comrades: Emil Bobu, Elena Ceausescu, Lina Ciobanu, Nicolae Constantin, Constantin Dascalescu, Ion Dinca, Miu Dobrescu, Ludovic Fazekas, Manea Manescu, Paul Niculescu, Constantin Olteanu, Gheorghe Oprea, Gheorghe Pana, Dumitru Popescu, Ion Radu, Gheorghe Radulescu, Ioan Totu, Stefan Andrei, Silviu Curticeanu, Mihai Gere, Nicolae Giosan, Vasile Milea, Ana Muresan, Cornel Pacoste, Tudor Postelnicu, Ion Stoian, Iosif Szasz, Ioan Toma, and Ion Ursu.

Comrades Vasile Barbulescu and Constantin Radu attended as guests.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] Are not all the comrades here?

[Comrade Silviu Curticeanu] Comrades Ion Coman and Matei Ilie are in Timisoara; Comrade Suzana Gadea is not here.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] Comrades, here is why we summoned the PEC:

There were certain events in Timisoara last night, which resumed today at noon. The pretext invoked was the issue of the so-called reformed pastor who was sanctioned by the county; they moved him from Timisoara to another county, and he was due to leave his house, which he refused to do. The bishop appealed to the court, which decided to evict him. There was a lot of procrastination, but yesterday they went to execute the court order. He had organized a group around himself. This is the hand of foreign circles, foreign espionage circles—beginning with Budapest—because he had also given an interview. Actually, the facts are known. As we also know, it is being said both in the East and in the West that things should change in Romania. Both the East and the West want to make changes, and they are using any excuse. Last night our units managed to restore order. He [The pastor] was evicted and dispatched to where the bishopric had sent him. That was strictly their problem: They were executing a court order for eviction, nothing special about that.

Today around noon—like yesterday, but the comrades didn't realize that they would be back—some hostile elements once again gathered and caused disruptions. They went into the county party headquarters. Our Interior Ministry [Securitate] units reacted weakly, because normally they should not have allowed anyone inside. They should have posted guards—that is, a general rule. Both the troops of the Ministry of National Defense and of the Ministry of Interior took a defeatist, capitulating attitude.

I talked to them last night and I told them to bring out tank units today. I told them to be at the center of town and stage a display of force. The units should already have been at the city center.

That is what I ordered, but you went for a walk. Whatever happened could not have happened had the units been in the center of town. All that should have been swiftly stopped. They took 1 hour and ½ to move military units. Where was the display of force I talked about and ordered?

[Comrade Vasile Milea] We moved from East to West.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] Not from East to West! The tank units should have been in the middle of town. That's what I had ordered, not moving them from East to West. I made it quite clear last night what you should do, deploy basic units, armored cars and motorized troops, they should all have been in the center, not at garrisons. That's why I said display of force, because a display of force means all units should be in the center of town. That's what display means! It's true that I didn't go into every detail, but when I say display of force that's what I mean, not having units traipse toward Jimbolia or Arad. They should have been in the city, because the streets are wide enough. That's where units should have been stationed.

The same goes for the Interior Ministry. It is my impression that the Interior Ministry troops were unarmed.

[Comrade Elena Ceausescu] They were unarmed.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] That's it, they were unarmed.

[Comrade Tudor Postelnicu] Except for the border guards. The others were unarmed.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] And why was that? I said they should all carry arms. Why did you send them in unarmed? Who gave that order? When I said to send in security troops, it was clear that they should be armed—

they have weapons, they have everything, cars, everything—so you send them to fight with their fists? What kind of security units are you?! Where did you get such ideas?

Curticeanu, get Vlad Iulian here right away.

Who gave the order?

Why do we have border guards? You assured me that you had nine security batallions, which makes about 1,000 men. Where were they, that you sent them in unarmed?! What kind of system is this?!

We talked last night and I said: Take measures, take firm measures. You didn't tell me you were sending them in to fight with clubs! That's not the kind of security units I need. The militia should have been armed, too. That's the law.

[Comrade Tudor Postelnicu] Comrade secretary general, I want to report that the militia was armed.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] If they were armed, they should have fired, not allow themselves be beaten and allow the people to go into the county committee building. The units took 2 hours to get there although they were in the center of town, when they should have been there, because they had been mobilized to stage a display of force in the streets. They should have been in the area.

I talked to you last night, I talked to you several times at 0200, at 0300, and at 0400, and I told you what to do.

[Comrade Elena Ceausescu] We should have phoned Comrade Coman when he got there.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] Curticeanu, get hold of Coman and have him call me immediately.

[Comrade Silviu Curticeanu] I understand. I'll get in touch with Timisoara right away.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] You didn't carry out my order, which I issued as supreme commander; the order was binding for all of you, for all the units, both of the Defense Ministry and the Interior Ministry.

How could this happen?! That hooligans should get into the county party building and beat up troops and officers, and they didn't intervene?!

What were your officers doing, Milea, why didn't they intervene immediately, why didn't they fire? They should have shot to get them down, give them a warning, then shoot at their legs.

[Comrade Vasile Milea] They weren't given ammunition.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] Why not? Didn't I give the order to fire in the air and issue warnings? Why didn't you give them ammunition? If you didn't intend to give them ammunition you might as well have kept them home!

What kind of defense minister are you? What kind of interior minister are you, Postelnicu? You said you had given them maneuver ammo! But they were given fighting orders, not orders for maneuvers. You didn't tell the truth. Only now you tell me, until now you misinformed me. You said you gave orders to fire! Why did you misinform me?!

If you mean to send security units to fight with clubs, you might as well keep them at home; we would have been better off mobilizing 500 workers, as we did in Bucharest at the time, in 1945, to confront those who were in the square; and when they opened fire I was with Dancea and Patrascanu, and we didn't run away.

How could this happen?! Why is it people knew what to do then, but now they stood there holding their clubs, couldn't care less?

[Comrade Elena Ceausescu] The situation is very serious and unpleasant.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] It is serious, and it is your fault, because you have caused this situation. Who ordered you not to issue ammo to the security troops?

Is Coman already in Timisoara?

[Comrade Silviu Curticeanu] Not yet.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] Get in touch with him immediatedly and have him call us as soon as he gets to the county committee building.

All military commanders should be found and summoned to a teleconference. I want them found within 5 minutes.

[Comrade Elena Ceausescu] This isn't right, neither the defense minister nor the interior minister acted properly.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] A handful of hooligans incited by those who aim to destroy socialism, and you actually played into their hands. That is the truth. Castro was absolutely right in what he told the party activists, because this is unacceptable.

This in fact is the mentality of the patriotic guards and the party activists. Why were the patriotic guards not brought out armed, since they have weapons? We let people sit on their hands while the others come out with steel bars, and all we do is lecture them. You do not stop the enemy with sermons, you burn him down. Socialism is not built on disinformation or submission, but with struggle. We have to struggle to build it. Europe is capitulating; it is allying itself with capitalism to eliminate socialism.

[Comrade Elena Ceausescu] This is cowardice.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] It's more than cowardice. I talked to you throughout the night, several times.

[Comrade Tudor Postelnicu] That is true, at least 15 times.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] And a few times this morning again. I was here at headquarters, then I went to see what was going on in the city, and I was told that crowds were again gathered in the center of town. They should have known what to do.

I do not know what to call this. We must discuss this situation with the PEC. As supreme commander, I think that you have betrayed the interests of the country, of the people, and of socialism, and that you didn't act responsibly.

[Comrade Iulian Vlad] You are right, Comrade Secretary General, it is true.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] You said you dispatched security troops, but they were unarmed.

[Comrade Iulian Vlad] That is true. They had rubber clubs and tear gas.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] Why were they not armed?

[Comrade Iulian Vlad] We thought it would not be necessary.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] Why didn't you report, why didn't you tell me, when I talked to you during the night?

As of now, if the PEC agrees, the national defense minister, the interior minister, and the commander of the security troops are removed. As of now I am taking over the Army command; have a decree ready for me. Summon the State Council so that everything is done legally tonight. I can no longer trust such people. This cannot go on. Throughout the night I talked to them every 10 minutes, only to realize that they were not doing what I ordered them to do. I realized only later that they were not doing what I was telling them. They should have killed the hooligans, not let the hooligans beat them up. Do you think that the hooligans did not know what was going on with you? Why did they go into the building? It is not allowed to go into the party headquarters!

Who gave you the right to consult among yourselves and not to take the necessary measures, as I told you and ordered you?

You know what I should do, I should send you before the firing squad! That's what you deserve, because what you did was ally yourselves with the enemy!

You served in the Army, Milea, that's what it is called, isn't it?!

[Comrade Vasile Milea] Yes, Comrade Secretary General.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] This is unacceptable! Let the State Council be convened immediately!

[Comrade Silviu Curticeanu] Yes, I understand.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] So, comrades, in view of the situation we have here, I realize that in fact we cannot restore order with clubs. I have called a teleconference. I will give the order to issue ammunition to all of them; they must all be armed and carry out orders. When I ordered a state of emergency, with what did you want to implement it, with sticks?! When I said "state of emergency," what did it convey to you, "clubs?"

You, who are in charge of the security troops, you don't know what "state of emergency" means?

[Comrade Iulian Vlad] I know, Comrade Secretary General, I gave the order.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] You're still not telling the truth, because those at the county party headquarters had no bullets to fire. The troops fought with what they had, with clubs, and they managed to stand their ground. If one had fired they would all have fled like chickens. Don't you see what you have caused?

I said, fire in the air, give warning, and if not, shoot at legs.

[Comrade Elena Ceausescu] You should have fired into them, let them fall, then taken them to the basement. Isn't this what you were told? Not one should have escaped.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] So, we need immediate measures; we must quickly liquidate the situation in Timisoara; we must put the troops on alert, on fighting orders, both the Interior Ministry and the defense troops, and wherever anything is attempted, it must be dealt with radically, without any discussion. And we must of course alert the patriotic guards, because one cannot fight with clubs. The entire situation must be seriously discussed with all the party activists and the Union of Communist Youth. What kind of communist education are you giving the youth? What kind of communist youth were those who joined the hooligans? Actually, there were even a few party members, but mostly communist youth. What kind of revolutionary education are you carrying out?!

Look comrades, I am raising the problem of taking tough measures. If you are of a different opinion, please say so here, because we have to decide what measures and actions to take, since we're dealing here with actions plotted by both East and West, who have united to destroy socialism, because they want a "capitalist, humane socialism."

What do you think?

[Comrade Manea Manescu] We agree with you and with all the measures taken.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] If anyone has a different opinion, please say so.

[Comrade Elena Ceausescu] We have to take radical measures because this is not a time to be lenient, because that would mean capitulation.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] We will struggle to the last, and we must submit this to approval by the party, because sovereignty and independence are won and defended through struggle. If in 1968 we hadn't acted and rallied the people here, if we hadn't armed the patriotic guards, they would have invaded us, too, as they did Czechoslovakia, because both Soviets and Bulgarians were already at the borders. We didn't disarm the people. We voted in the Grand National Assembly that everything be defended arms in hand.

Why do you not defend the law and socialism? Because the laws of socialism are the laws of the country.

[Comrade Elena Ceausescu] These are laws that are not disputable.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] And now you discussed what to do and you sent them off empty-handed, because that means that that is what you discussed?!

What are we to do with the defense minister? What do you say, Milea?

[Comrade Vasile Milea] If that is what you ordered, that is what we will pass on immediately. After that, I am at your disposal.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] Why did the units not go out with weapons, because with guns and no bullets they can neither defend nor fight.

[Comrade Elena Ceausescu] They must say what their idea is, what their position is.

[Comrade Vasile Milea] I want to report that neither I nor the other comrades have any other position.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] Speak for yourself.

[Comrade Vasile Milea] I repeat, Comrade Secretary General, I do not have a different position or idea.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] Why didn't you take measures?

[Comrade Vasile Milea] I am guilty. I thought it would not escalate.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] You should have feared escalation. You all knew what the situation in Timisoara was like. Instead of taking measures, you sent the Army in unarmed. You should have taken measures immediately and should have been done with it yesterday, but you did not, so here we are tonight.

[Comrade Tudor Postelnicu] Greatly esteemed Comrade Secretary General, greatly esteeemed Comrade Elena Ceausescu, I want to report to the PEC and to you that I fully agree with the steps that will be taken against me.

As a party activist appointed to work in this sector, I want to tell you most sincerely that I am not trying to excuse myself in any way. I bear full responsibility and, I repeat, I am not trying to find excuses or to say that we could not do more.

I want to report that I am an honest and dedicated soldier of the party, but I have to admit that I did not realize that the units should have gone out with arms or with live ammunition. Whatever steps are taken against me, this is the situation. I have heard such discussions more than once, the leadership council discussed it with cadres several times, I was present myself at such discussions, but I did not realize that the units should be armed.

I want to tell you that we did act resolutely and in keeping with your guidelines and indications last night. We did everything we could...

[Comrade Elena Ceausescu] You did not do a thing.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] If you could go to such a thing armed with clubs, it means you did not do anything.

[Comrade Elena Ceausescu] If it was not clear to you, why didn't you ask? You should have asked whether to send the troops in armed or unarmed.

[Comrade Tudor Postelnicu] I want to report that I did not find that in any regulation, and I was not told to go out with live bullets.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] The border guards were not armed, either, although they are on the border?

[Comrade Vasile Milea] The ones on duty at the border have live ammunition.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] And Postelnicu and Vlad did not know that?

[Comrade Tudor Postelnicu] I reported and I want to report that our units do have live ammo.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] So why didn't they take them?

[Comrade Iulian Vlad] We thought it was a limited action that we could deal without bullets.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] Why didn't you ask?

[Comrade Iulian Vlad] It was a fundamental mistake on our part.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] I said fire in the air, and if they don't disperse, fire at their legs.

I did not mean you should shoot blanks. That is nothing. The ones who went into the county party building should not have come out again, they should have been down to the ground.

[Comrade Tudor Postelnicu] The generals and the forces sent there acted incorrectly.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] It was your orders.

[Comrade Vasile Milea] True, it is our fault.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] Why should we accuse them, when you issued the orders. That is very clear now. Let the PEC decide.

[Comrade Tudor Postelnicu] Before we end I want to say that I agree with your measures and the measures of the PEC.

As a party activist, as a former party activist, I want to thank you for the support I received throughout this period and to assure you that I will remain a faithful party soldier, regardless of whether I continue to be a party member or not, I remain a man, a worker loyal to the party and the fatherland, regardless of whether I retain my position or not.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] What do you think comrades, we must decide what to do.

[Comrade Gheorghe Radulescu] In connection with the defense and interior ministers, I think that it is not the thing to do; this is not the time for it.

[Comrade Tudor Postelnicu] Comrade Secretary General, if you can trust me, I assure you that I will spare no effort and will do my duty day and night, to the best of my abilities and as required by realities.

[Comrade Constantin Dascalescu] Comrade Secretary General, please consider carefully. We have heard your guidelines and orders, but we should not rush and take measures without thorough consideration.

I want to ask you to examine this with discrimination. I am in favor of tough measures, but we must think well what we are doing.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] What do you say, Manea?

[Comrade Manea Manescu] Comrade President, I say let us solve the situation we have now, and later we can take measures.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] Solve it with whom? The problem could have been solved yesterday morning within 2 hours, but it wasn't. The mood has been set for pulling back, for not fighting, for capitulating. That is the problem.

[Comrade Gheorghe Oprea] Comrade Secretary General, I think the tasks are very clear. I think the comrades have thoroughly understood what they have to do; please trust them to continue their work. Now it is clear what is to be done.

I think now they have understood, and now it is quite clear to them. I think we can trust them to act in keeping with your orders.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] You know how you acted? Like sending unarmed troops to the front to be destroyed by the enemy. That's what you did. You placed military units in a very bad position. What's to guarantee that you won't do the same thing again?

[Comrade Tudor Postelnicu] I assure you, Comrade Secretary General, that such a situation will not be repeated. Please trust me, we will let deeds speak, then you, the higher party leadership, and the PEC can judge.

[Comrade Vasile Milea] As far as I am concerned, the guarantee is that I had not appreciated the threat from the beginning, but now it is clear to me, once you said it was a state of emergency.

[Comrade Iulian Vlad] I assure you, Comrade Secretary General, that, having heard the tasks you have given me, I will do what is necessary to deserve your trust.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] Well, shall we try, comrades?
—All the comrades agree.

Let us postpone the decision, let us see how they do, and then we will resume the discussion.
—All the comrades agree.

We will see how they act to resolve the situation.

[Comrade Vasile Milea] We have understood, that is what we will do.

[Comrade Tudor Postelnicu] We have thoroughly understood what you said and I assure you, Comrade Secretary General, that this is what we will do.

[Comrade Iulian Vlad] I, too, have understood, Comrade Secretary General, the tasks expected from the security troops, and we will act accordingly.

Transcript of the PEC Permanent Bureau Meeting of 14 December 1989

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] If we can leave for Iran tomorrow, the PEC Permanent Bureau is responsible for all activities. Direct activities will be coordinated by Comrade Elena Ceausescu and Comrade Manea Manescu. The Permanent Bureau will be convened and will make decisions together. None of the members of the Permanent Bureau may leave Bucharest during this time. The others may go.

Agreed?
—All the comrades agree.

As a matter of fact, we ordered that all tourist activities be suspended. No foreign tourists will be allowed in, because they have all become spies. Local border traffic should also be suspended. Orders have been issued to the Interior Ministry, but the Tourism Ministry must also be told immediately. Places left vacant will be given to Romanian citizens.

No tourists from socialist countries, either, except for Korea, China, and Cuba, because we don't trust any of the neighboring socialist countries. Tourists from neighboring socialist countries are sent in to spy. All tourist activities are suspended.

The state of emergency will be declared in all the counties. Military units and the troops of the Interior Ministry and the Securitate are all on alert.

At the teleconference we will declare that all necessary measures be taken against any attempt, because we must defend the fatherland's independence and socialism against everyone, whoever they may be.

These are the problems at the moment. It seems to me that things were not quite understood at the congress. The decisions we made were not just pro forma. Everyone must be aware that we are at war. Everything that happened and is happening in Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria now and what happened in Poland and Hungary was organized by the Soviet Union with American and Western help.

This must be very clear, and what occurred in those three countries—the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria—were coup d'etat's organized with the help of the dregs of society; the dregs of society with foreign aid. This is how things must be viewed. There is no other way to view them.

Is that clear comrades, do you agree?
—All comrades agree.

[Comrade Elena Ceausescu] This is how we will act.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] Do you have any other opinion? Niculescu, do you agree?

[Comrade Paul Niculescu] I agree, Comrade Secretary General.

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu] I want this to be clear.

We will overcome this situation. We had to deal with the situation in 1968, but this is worse, because there is demagoguery and the people are led astray by anticommunist slogans, and because the aim is actually to destroy socialism. This is the reality.

So, that's what we will do, if you agree?
—All the comrades agree.

(All comrades pledge to act in this manner.)

The meeting is closed.

Protests in Pristina Over Skopje Incident

Albanian Workers

AU2301201690 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Workers of Albanian nationality at the Gjilan Textile Combine held a protest meeting today in connection with the crime that took place in the village of Arakin in Skopje, causing the death of Nuredin Nuredini.

In a protest letter addressed to the Macedonian Assembly, the Albanian nationality workers of this combine stress that they are in favor of democracy and tolerance and demand an end to the use of violence and the violation of human rights. The workers also demanded that a commission of inquiry be established, whose findings should be made public.

Students Demands

AU2301200890 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] About 500 Pristina University students gathered today at approximately 1200 in front of the Kosovo University Library. After a short stay there, they proceeded toward the city's center and gathered in front of the building housing the League of Communists [LC] Provincial Committee. By then, the number of students had increased to about 1,500.

The cause for the rally was the incident that occurred on 13 January in the village of Arakin, near Skoplje, when Nuredin Nuredini lost his life when the appropriate organs of the Gazi Baba commune pulled down the wall surrounding his home.

The students were addressed first by Arif Osmani, president of the Communal Conference of the Pristina Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP], who asked them to disperse and to form a delegation with which it would then be possible to talk. The students refused this request.

The students were then addressed by [first name indistinct] Kelmendi, president of the LC Action Conference of the Student Center, who said that since Rahman Morina, president of the Presidency of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, is currently in Belgrade, the authorities had a telephone coversation with him and he had advised that the students should disperse and form a delegation with which he would be prepared to meet tomorrow at 0900.

The students began to react, but following discussions with sociopolitical workers at communal and provincial level, one of the students read a series of demands that had been prepared beforehand. Their demands had to do with the barbarous case that took place in Macedonia; the students held 1 minute of silence. They then presented further demands, such as the lifting of the state of emergency as soon as possible and [passage indistinct]. Other requests referred to changing the names of streets and of educational and other institutions, the process of ideopolitical differentiation on a national basis, and the legitimacy of the Kosovo delegation to the 14th LCY Congress. The students also demanded that a referendum be held as soon as possible on the question of free elections. After the presentation of these demands, the students dispersed.

2,000 Students, Citizens

AU2401101490 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Some 2,000 students and citizens of Albanian nationality gathered in front of the (?building of the League of Communists) of Kosovo in Pristina. The students demanded talks in the city stadium or in the sports hall of the Boro and Ramiz Center. They made the following political demands: They want the end of political trials and the release of political prisoners, the lifting of the state of emergency in Kosovo, and the end of ideopolitical differentiation in the League of Communists.

10,000 Albanians on 24 Jan

AU2401121290 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] More than 10,000 citizens of Albanian nationality have gathered in the center of Pristina. They are demonstrating in front of the building of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo. The participants in the demonstration were addressed by Rahman Morina, whose speech was booed most of the time.

Demonstrators were heard shouting: Democracy! Democracy! One could also hear calls for a referendum in Kosovo, for equality and a multiparty system. The mention of the League of Communists of Kosovo was also followed by booing. People were heard shouting: Resign Traitors. The demonstrators have not yet begun to disperse.

Slovene LC Holds Meeting on LCY Congress

Backs Delegates' Actions

LD2301171690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 22 Jan (TANJUG)—This afternoon, at a joint session with the delegation of Slovene Communists at the 14th Extraordinary LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] Congress, the Slovene Central Committee approved the work of the delegation. It was stated that the delegation acted in line with the directives of the 11th Slovene League of Communists [LC] Congress and with the directive which the Slovene LC Central Committee adopted in conjunction with the delegates prior to the 14th congress.

Dr Ciril Ribicic, president of the Slovene LC Central Committee, stated this at a news conference held immediately after the session of the Slovene LC Central Committee.

Ribicic on Meeting

LD2301172390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1633 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 23 Jan (TANJUG)—During his news conference after the session of the Slovene League of Communists [LC] Central Committee which, among other things, discussed the outstanding issues following the walkout of the Slovene Communists from the 14th Extraordinary LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia], Congress, Dr Ciril Ribicic, president of the Slovene LC Central Committee, said that the Central Committee had today opted for some sort of frozen relations until 2 February, for which date a conference of the Slovene LC has been convened.

We shall step up our contacts with the LCY and with sections of the LCY, but more comprehensive decisions on the method of cooperation will be made on 2 February following the conference of Slovene Communists. This freezing of relations, said Ribicic, includes current and past cadre issues.

Congress Stand Endorsed

AU2301204690 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1800 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] The League of Communists of Slovenia Central Committee at its afternoon session, attended by all the delegates to the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, confirmed that the Slovene delegation in Belgrade acted properly and in conformity with the republican congress decisions. A press conference was held after a closed session. Gojko Brvar reports on the conference:

First of all: What now? The Slovene Communists will convene a conference on 2 February—by then the matters may develop in Yugoslavia, too—and then decide on the future steps of the Slovene League of Communists organization. In any case they do not intend to depart from the basic reform guidelines, and they also do not intend to join a Yugoslav party organization in which the minority would be constantly defeated because of certain power interests.

This, of course, does not mean that they have slammed the door shut behind them, but the League of Communists of Yugoslavia would have to undergo a thorough transformation if the Slovene League of Communists is again to knock at the door. It is a veritable anomaly that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia tore apart along the national seams, because the split would be more logical along the line dividing the conservative and reform currents. However, it happened.

Will the Slovene organization now change its name? It is thinking about it, but it is aware that in that case somebody else assuming its former name could replace it in the Yugoslav organization, without the very convincing support of the membership, the press conference was convincingly told.

The Slovene Communist organization—like the ZSMS [Slovene Socialist Youth Federation] in its time—has put the cadre solutions into cold storage and has found places for its intended federal officials at home.

An interesting point made today, which was almost too easily passed over, was that the delegation of the Communists of the Yugoslav People's Army to the 14th Congress also assessed the Slovene walkout as a completely legitimate affair and supported the proposal that the Congress should be suspended. This certainly meant a cold shower for the hotheads who were rubbing their hands in anticipation of how, without the Slovenes, they would have the Yugoslav Party organization under their thumb.

The Slovene proposal of the league of leagues which on the one hand experienced such an opposition, on the other hand experienced a proper test in practice. When the Slovenes announced their walkout, all the delegations met separately and discussed what to do.

The question was posed: Is a compromise possible in the second half? Compromise is not the proper word. The League of Communists of Yugoslavia of yesterday no longer esists. With whom should one then conclude a compromise? It would make no sense to conclude it with a League of Communists of Yugoslavia as it was. The only thing that is possible is a joint building of a new, different organization, provided that readiness exists, of course.

Has the Slovene walkout gained points for the Slovene Communists in their local election field? The answer was that the conduct at the congress was not subordinated to the election struggle at home. We were above all interested in the reform of the Yugoslav organization. Of course, we could not ignore its effect on election results, it was said.

And if we translate all this into one single question: Is this the end of everything, the answer heard today was closest to the sentence: This is really the beginning.

More on Slovene Meeting

LD2301201190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1640 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 23 Jan (TANJUG)—This afternoon, at a joint session with the delegation of the Slovene Communists at the 14th Extraordinary LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] Congress, the Slovene League of Communists [LC] Central Committee approved the work of the delegation. It noted that the delegation acted in line with the directives of the 11th Slovene LC Congress, and the directives which the

Slovene LC Central Committee adopted in conjunction with the delegates prior to the 14th congress.

Dr Ciril Ribicic, president of the Slovene LC Central Committee, made this statement at a news conference held immediately after the session of the Slovene LC Central Committee. He added that, at today's session of the Slovene LC Central Committee they reached an agreement on upcoming tasks, among which the most important agreement was to convene the Slovene LC conference on 2 February.

The conference will consider, apart from outstanding issues following the walkout from the 14th LCY Congress, preparations for the elections and other issues regarding the organization of the LC, such as its bulletin and its name.

As for relations with the LCY, we proceeded from the basis of our statements at the LCY Congress. We are, most especially, in favor of some kind of freeze on relations until the Slovene LC conference. We shall intensify contacts with the LCY and parts of the LCY. However, we shall make more thorough decisions about the mode of further cooperation on 2 February, after the conference of Slovene Communists. The freeze on relations includes cadre solutions, both past and present ones. We agreed that, within the Slovene LC, members of the hitherto LCY Central Committee tackle these issues. Those in the first group have not been released from their posts, and those in the second, have not yet been elected. We agreed that Stefan Korosec has the right and duty of a member of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium; Boris Muzevic is already a member of the Slovene LC Central Committee; and Dusko Kos was already appointed Executive Secretary, Ribicic said.

When asked by journalists how he views the statement of the delegation of the Croat LC, Ribicic stressed that he understands the bitterness of the delegates of the Croat LC because they fought intensely for their positions at the LCY Congress. In their fight, they showed great resoluteness as well as a great ability to make tactical maneuvers. They stated plainly that, with our walkout, the LCY is losing its Yugoslav character. I fully understand their bitterness after they had demanded at the plenum a recess of the congress, Ribicic said. When they were persuaded to return to the hall, and when they were informed that their demand was accepted, they had the feeling that they were cheated since attempts were made at creating the illusion that the congress is proceeding as normal and that it can reach binding conclusions.

Ciril Ribicic then said that the Slovene LC is currently without its representatives in the LCY—a situation which will likely last until 2 February, when we shall decide what to do about this situation. This, however, does not mean the severance of ties. On the contrary, we have begun to make intensive contacts and working agreements, but of a working character and in the service of facilitating decisions at the upcoming conference.

Asked what will change in the LCY by 2 February so as to create conditions for cooperation, Ribicic replied that already last night the LCY operated as a league of leagues. Our walk out brought about a kind of sobering, perhaps even a state of shock. Perhaps this situation will stimulate more serious thinking regarding reform. Simultaneously upon negotiating with others, we shall carry out the process of democratizing the Slovene LC, because we cannot freeze that development and wait for some other agreement in the LCY. We too must take significant steps forward, and this could impede further negotiations, Ciril Ribicic said.

When asked on what level the talks will be, Lokar stressed that the main contacts will be at the bilateral level, within the framework of reciprocal contacts and with sections of individual LC organizations because there, too, the processes of internal differentiations have begun. Of course, Sonja Lokar added, there will also be work contacts with federal organs. All contacts are welcome but until 2 February it will be impossible to adopt any binding decisions.

Another question asked by journalists was about the ratio of forces within the LCY. In answering the question, Janez Kocijancic said that at the present time the LCY was substantitally truncated, and that it was difficult to speak in terms of the LCY. A period of substantial restructuring is imminent. It is also certain that our congress walkout will impel many people to reflect upon relations within the LCY, Kocijancic believes.

In Borut Pahor's view before leaving for Belgrade there was the general impression that in some way we were about to perform an operation on a patient. Then it turned out that we were witnessing a post mortem. Slobodan Milosevic and those who today control political moves of the dogmatic line, to put it crudely, must become aware that what they have before them is a corpse, and that in this sense this corpse can no longer remain an actor on the increasingly pluralist political scene. Any effort in this direction would be redundant. For this reason I believe, said Pahor, that the Slovene LC itself must bear this fact in mind. In this context it is very important that the Croat and Serb Communists not be excluded. A new Yugoslav policy of the LC of Slovenia must be embarked on because we do not seek out democratic partners only in the LCY, but outside it too—that is to say one has to work for planned coalitions.

Ciril Ribicic added that the voting during the plenary session, before we walked out, demonstrated what would have happened with other minorities, and not only with the Slovene LC. This is why the reaction not only of the Croat LC, but by others too, was quite natural in the sense that they wanted to use our walkout to change the relations which will prevent themselves from becoming a minority.

Asked whether a compromise was possible within the LCY, Milan Kucan stressed that one has to become

reconciled with the fact that the LCY today is no longer what it was yesterday. Relations in the LCY can no longer be established on the basis which has been valid up to the present time. What happened in the LCY requires future relations to be based upon an entirely new basis, on the kind of basis that was suggested by the Slovene LC or at least a basis very close to that.

Asked by journalists about the nuances involved our country's party giving up its power, Sonja Lokar said that what happened at the federal congress yesterday will have very important repercussions on the operations of our state. Crude and absurd as it sounds, the events at the congress have established better conditions for the continuance of a law-governed and democratic state—a state in which the center of political decisionmaking is where the center should be, which is the assembly; which tasks the government with the responsibilities which any government must assume within a parliamentary state. It seems to me, said Lokar, that this will be influenced by the nature of the organization which is no longer there, if it is revived and if it reestablishes itself following the process of renewal, which I think is possible. In this repsect, perhaps the only exception is Slovenia where the LC is an active agent of events. One had to strive very hard indeed to get into this position, and this process in Slovenia has been going on for virtually 5 years. There is no guarantee that things will go on as smoothly as that. What happened in Belgrade makes things easier for us and increases our chance of being one of the equal subjects in the Slovene political arena, said Sonja Lokar, adding that of course time will show the significance of that step.

In answering the question on whether or not this step has increased the Slovene LC's chances in the electoral campaign, Borut Pahor stressed that the conduct at the congress was not subject exclusively to an electoral arrangement. It should be said that we expected that too, and perhaps more than that; and it is precisely this which appears to me to be important, he said. The fact that we left the congress on the third day meant that we were and continue to be interested in the Yugoslav political option, but that we do not wish to share it with the LCY such as it is. It was because of this argument that we left the congress. In so doing we constantly kept in mind the fact that the LCY must be a factor of a stable transition of Yugoslavia into a democracy. In this context the election and its results are of secondary importance, said Pahor.

If only the election was involved, according to Ciril Ribicic, most probably we would not have even gone to the congress. What was important was that at the congress we tried to indicate where the essential differences in our views were, not only the differences regarding the transformation of the LCY, but also our different views on the political and economic reforms. This was shown in quite a conspicuous way only during the plenary session.

When asked what occurred that was positive at the congress, Janez Kocijancic said that what was positive was that significant shifts had occurred in the LCY; that the forces with a reform orientation are getting stronger, and that many issues and positions have begun to come to a head—both in terms of the commitment to political pluralism and competition, and the different aspects of ownership, etc. Obviously the fact is positive that as a result of our actions the perception has definitely matured, that with this sort of organization one cannot move forward and that the kind of organization we had, and the kind of LCY we had, represented one of the biggest obstacles to a democratic renaissance of Yugoslav society.

Sonja Lokar added that a great success of the congress was the fact that finally the conditions had been established for a serious conceptual discussion about what a modern, Yugoslav, socialist, and communist oriented organization should be. Until now this discussion could not have been held in political bodies. It was conducted in Marxist centers, on television, in the press, etc. But it was not possible to pursue such a discussion at the political dialogue level. According to Lokar this now is a great change.

Now it is no longer possible to prevaricate, everyone must take a clear position and must state clearly his position in this process which has now become obvious, stressed Sonja Lokar. It is also very important for us all that at this congress every organization was faced with its own reality. The differences were so clearly demonstrated that it is a good thing that we are aware of them. Quite simply these differences will persist and one will have to live with them. No doubt the biggest achievement of the congress was that it was shown quite clearly that what is happening in Yugoslavia is not an interethnic conflict, which is a disguise covering up something different. What is happening is a great effort by a state, which socially and from a development point of view is very different, to devise the best possible transition from a state of backwardness as far as development is concerned into a modern, developed, democratic, and civilized 21st Century society.

Two different views were formed in Yugoslavia regarding a solution to these problems. It was demonstrated that after this split the chance that the variant, which is pulling forward and which has addressed itself to the future, will be victorious is greater than ever before, said Lokar.

Commenting on the reverberations of the statements made by Bekes and Bavcon, Milan Kucan said that it was more than obvious that the Yugoslav political scene is not ready for a well-argued discussion on significant problems of our life together. This is why at the plenary session an attempt was made to resolve all these differences with the vote. That was not only tragic, it was ludicrous. What happened to Bavcon is a telling testimony of the degree of civilized behavior by those present and by the person chairing the session. The norm is that

if the working president gives somebody the floor then he is duty bound to protect his integrity, stressed Milan Kucan.

Slovenia Proposes Countermeasure to Serb Boycott

LD2401063390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2300 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Ljubljana, Jan 23, (TANJUG)—The government of Yugoslavia's most developed republic, Slovenia, on Tuesday [23 January] evening proposed to the republican assembly that it reduce by half Slovenia's contributions to the Yugoslav Federation's fund for aid to the less developed republics and provinces.

The Slovenian Government decided on the move after politicians in the Eastern Republic of Serbia early last month requested that its enterprises, plants, and citizens boycott products from Slovenia.

The Serbian leadership's request followed the decision of Slovenian authorities to ban and prevent by force a rally planned by Serbs and Montenegrins in the Slovenian capital Ljubljana on December 1 of last year.

Serbia accuses Slovenia of supporting ethnic Albanian separatists in the Serbian Province of Kosovo. Serbs and Montenegrins intended to present their views on the Kosovo problem at the rally, accusing the authorities and the press in Slovenia of hiding the truth about Kosovo from the Slovenian people.

The Slovenian Government this evening said that "due to the unquestionable consequences of the blockade," Slovenia's social product had dropped from the earlier percentage of 19.4 to 14.3 percent. The government proposed that Slovenia's contribution to the fund for the less developed be reduced by the same amount.

The republican parliament will issue a declaration on the issue on February 7.

The government also proposed that, on the basis of the existing laws and principles of a legal state, Slovenia not accept the law on the financial rehabilitation of banks seated in areas which are inmplementing the blockade.

According to Slovenian sources, 229 enterprises from Serbia suspended cooperation with 207 enterprises in Slovenia.

The Slovenian Government said the major aim of the blockade was to weaken Slovenia's economy so that it would accept offers in the political sector.

The Slovenian Government emphasized that the blockade had seriously shaken many activities and economic branches in the republic, especially enterprises which had in past few years been expanding cooperation with those in the Republic of Serbia.

Reportage on 14th Extaordinary LCY Congress

Plenum Proposals Issued

LD2301125290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1205 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Jan (TANJUG)—During an interval the working presidium of the 14th Extraordinary League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Congress and the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee met in a joint session to consider the situation resulting from a decision by Slovene League of Communists [LC] delegates to walk out.

Having expressed their concern at the course of events and proceeding from the belief that, even in the most critical periods of its existence, the LCY had succeeded in finding strength to successfully overcome problems facing it, the congress working presidium and the LCY Central Committee Presidium appealed to members not to allow the present situation to lead to further exacerbation in inter-ethnic relations and to creation of a negative political situation in the country.

In an attempt to find the most rational solutions to and ways of overcoming the newly-created situation, and in view of their exceptional responsibility for the LCY's fate, the working presidium of the congress and the LCY Central Committee Presidium came up with the following proposals:

1. The proposed documents and relevant resolutions are to be adopted at the next, third, plenary session of the congress when new LCY organs will also be elected. The date for this session will be set by the LCY Central Committee.

2. The LCY Central committee, its Presidium, and other organs are to continue functioning and to carry out necesary political preparations for resuming the congress. To this end, efforts must be made to resolve the main problems behind the situation facing the LCY.

3. In the meantime, central and provincial LC committees and conferences are to hold meetings with their delegates to the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress to analyze the newly-created situation and to carry out necessary preparations for resuming congress proceedings.

4. Delegates to the LCY Congress are to adhere to the LCY's program orientation and to work to preserve its unity.

5. The 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress appeals to all Yugoslav Communists to consistently implement the LCY's policy and to work toward preserving the unity and integrity of the LCY and of the SFRY.

Racan Reports Croat LC Stand

LD2301214990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1838 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Zagreb, 23 Jan (TANJUG)—The continuation of the 14th extraordinary congress will be possible when the conditions for its success have been assured. This means that this has become an opportunity for the reconstruction of the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] on a reform and democratic basis, said Ivica Racan, president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of Croatia, during a new conference in Zagreb tonight.

Having said that the adjournment in the work of the congress is not "the end of the world" Racan stressed that open and conflicting issues can no longer be avoided the way such issues used to be. A contribution has to be made to abandoning political blockades, blackmail, dictat, and the process of voting down key issues. This is possible only if the unity within the LCY is redefined on a new basis; no longer on the principle of democratic centralism, but of democratic unity which implies full equality of the leagues of communists in the republics and provinces.

It was announced during the news conference—in which Boris Malada, Branko Caratan, and Dusan Plecas took part as well—that a session of the Central Committee of the Croat LC will take place on 28 January during which assessments will be made and positions taken on the situation which has arisen in the wake of the adjournment of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress.

Army Supported Suspension of LCY Congress

AU2301155290 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1430 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Report by Janko Saradzen on news conference with League of Communists of Slovenia Central Committee members by local and foreign reporters—date and place not given]

[Text] Ciril Ribicic, Sonja Lokar, Milan Kucan, Janez Kocjancic, and Borut Pahor appeared at a press conference that opened precisely at 1515 [1415 GMT] and was attended by numerous domestic and foreign journalists.

Ciril Ribicic first briefly acquainted those present with the working meeting of the Central Committee members and the Slovene delegates to the congress. The Slovene Central Committee approved the work of the Slovene delegates and noted that they adhered to the directives of the 11th League of Communists of Slovenia Congress.

The meeting today was used for partial preparations for the League of Communists of Slovenia Conference that will be held on 2 February. The Conference should take a stand on the freeze in relations in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, with which—according to Ciril Ribicic—the Slovene Communists do not intend to break all relations. For the time being Slovenia has no members in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia organs. Contacts will, nevertheless, be intensively continued on the interrepublican level, too.

In reply to the question regarding what change could occur before the Slovene Communist Conference, the answer was that much changed last night, for the delegations were meeting separately and acted as a league of leagues. And the attitude to the Yugoslav People's Army? The Army, too, agreed that the work of the Congress was illegitimate after the Slovene delegation had walked out.

As I am reporting, the press conference continues.

Belgrade Radio on 'Rift' in LCY

AU2301205990 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] At the moment when the declaration on the new project of democratic socialism should have been adopted, last night the Slovene delegates walked out of the Extraordinary 14th Congress and thus caused a rift in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY]. Because of this, the congress was suspended indefinitely, which, of course, raises many serious issues. Mirjana Trajkovic and Zivojin Jerotijevic comment on this situation:

[Trajkovic] After the attempt failed to impose a resolution on the majority concerning the absolute independence of the republican party organization and on this basis to constitute the LCY as a league of leagues, in which all decisions would be made solely by consensus, the delegates of Slovenia left the congress hall after being called to do so by Ciril Ribicic, president of the Central Committee.

This move was not unexpected because everything that has happened in Slovenia in the last 2 years has in fact led to this end. Let us mention only the adoption of amendments to the Slovene Constitution which created a normative platform for the confederalization of Yugoslavia. Let us add to this, the latest move by the Slovene state leadership of blocking the constitutional changes which have been proposed by the Federal Executive Council. We also recall the ultimative decision by the 11th Congress of the League of Communists of Slovenia whereby Slovene delegates were not to endorse one single document of the Extraordinary 14th Congress which is not in line with Slovene demands.

One should also not neglect the position of the Slovene League of Communists on the pluralist political scene in this republic, and its endeavors to keep its place there even by flirting and forming alliances with alternative parties which are often oriented against socialists.

Experts on Slovene circumstances consider that this is some kind of political promotion and some kind of alliance-building with the aim of winning voters for the assembly elections in April. The following question

should be asked in this connection: Is not the destruction of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia too high a price for the still very unclear electoral victory on which the Slovene leadership is most seriously counting?

After everything that happened last night in the Belgrade Sava center, the question is: Does the departure of the delegates from one of the republican organizations mean that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia no longer exists?

[Jerotijevic] With this act, the League of Communists has formally lost its Yugoslav character. The Central Committee is depleted, but the fact is that it did not receive a notice of dismissal so it continues to be a legitimate organ and as such will direct the preparations for the resumption of the congress.

This will certainly be an exceptionally difficult job considering that we are faced with a situation which is quite new in all respects. Still to come, of course, are consultations in republican and provincial organizations in order to resolve the main problems and ensure that the delegates meet again.

Immediately after his return to Ljubljana in a news conference for foreign and Yugoslav journalists, Ciril Ribicic hinted at the possibility of the League of Communists of Slovenia returning to the League of Communists of Yugoslavia under the condition that the Yugoslav party organizes itself in a new way, according to the Slovene recipe. Such one-sided setting of conditions—as was shown last night—is not possible because it is nothing but a method honed to perfection of blackmailing those who care about Yugoslavia.

We are obviously talking about major conceptual differences regarding the organization of the League of Communists. One delegation—if we can call them that—was not prepared to accept the opinion of the majority of delegates and, therefore, the majority of the members of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, which brought into question its own orientation toward a tolerant and democratic dialogue.

In this respect, one should not forget that as regards the key amendment—the Slovene proposal that the League of Communists be established as a league of leagues instead of a unified organization—the result of the voting was more than convincing. That is to say, 169 delegates voted for the Slovene amendment while 1,156 were against; which refutes the insinuation that the voting down this amendment was done by one republican organization.

The situation is dramatic and unclear and there is no perceivable way out at the moment. However, it is certain that the Yugoslav state will continue to function because its survival—as the delegates also stressed—does not depend solely on such a divided and ineffectual League of Communists. That is to say, the peoples of this country are connected by other threads, so it is hard to imagine that the present situation could endanger the survival of Yugoslavia despite all its seriousness.

Press on 'Disintegration'

LD2301130290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1115 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, January 23 (TANJUG)—The League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) has practically ceased to exist, the daily OSLOBODJENJE writes on Tuesday.

The daily, which appears in Sarajevo, capital of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, writes in an editorial on the adjournment early this morning of the 14th LCY Congress, that the LCY has been dealt a heavy blow from which it will find it hard to recover.

The daily DELO, published in Ljubljana, capital of the Republic of Slovenia, points out that 'not only is there no longer a united Yugoslav Party, but Yugoslavia itself has changed considerably' and is, in fact, 'better because it is much closer to a civil society and true political pluralism. [no closing quotation mark received] The paper maintains that the Yugoslav party was comletely blocked at the congress and that it was only a matter of time before accumulated differences would come to light.

The daily VECERNJI LIST, published in Zagreb, capital of the Republic of Croatia, notes that it is only a matter of time before reformists in the LCY should finally win, or secede and found a leftist party of their own. The daily sees as unfounded the fear that a disintegration of the Titoist League of Communists, which no longer has anything in common with the late Yugoslav state and party leader Josip Broz Tito, might lead to inter-ethnic conflicts because, the daily maintains, it is precisely the party as it is today that is to blame for the present situation in Yugoslavia.

The Zagreb daily VJESNIK writes that 'those who claimed that the congress was too late for a dogmatic option in the LCY and too early for a reformist one were evidently right... A possible dissolution of the LCY by no means signifies the end of Yugoslavia but, rather, the beginning of talks on how to organize the party'.

The Yugoslav daily BORBA points out that the 'Bolshevik model of an only and avantgarde party, subsequently imposed on the whole of Yugoslav society by means of a party state, has been exhausted, and has plunged the Yugoslav community into its worst crisis since the revolution'. The paper maintains that the only vision of a new Yugoslavia can at this time be offered by either a reformed communist party or two new organizations created in its place—a communist and a socialist party—which would be given licence to do so in a free multiparty election.

LCY Transformation Commission Meets 21 Jan

LD2101234590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0829 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 21 Jan (TANJUG)—Today's discussion in the commission for the transformation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia's [LCY] of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress started with warnings that it was high time for reform. If the party does not find enough strength to adapt itself to and fit in with new times it will be faced with the serious danger of being suppressed from the political scene. [Passage omitted: Igor Gomin proposes that democratic unity be defined in a new way because the present democratic centralism is not suited to new relations within the League of Communists (LC). He also called for change in attitude toward religion. Delegate Sakir Maksut called for new ways toward unity. Vukota Popsovic wants to return to Tito's formula in solving intranational problems, that is to return to the working class as a pillar of society]

Having been the engine of social development, the LC has become its brake, stressed Ivo Druzic. For this reason he proposed that the LCY should cease to exist under this name and called for a new program and statute and an organization with a social-democratic character. It would become a federation of republican organizations.

Such changes are necessary in his view because the reform which was initiated was not just "polishing up of the existing model," but also a beginning of the development of a completely new society. Such as it stands, the LCY, which is objectively most responsible for the failure of the practice so far, cannot survive under these new conditions, said Ivo Druzic. [passage omitted: Calls for LC to renounce its constitutionally determined position and break off its "common law marriage" with the state. Distinction should be made between LCY's historic role and the present organization. One delegate said that should the LC lose the elections, it should do so in a dignified way. In order to preserve the past we must not return to it but change faster, said Ivo Druzic.]

Stressing that he does not wish to be member of the party which does not believe in gaining power in a democratic way, Slobodan Uzelac noted that the LC is not and cannot be a builder of socialism. [Passage omitted: Complaint that the Congress is dealing with all sorts of irrelevant questions but not with the ones it is supposed to. Controversy over Druzic's speech. In a hurry to reply to him some delegates did not even give their names. Boris Malada sees the LCY's visionary steps in the past as an encouragement to continue with changes within the organization. Sulejman Serafedin speaks on statutory provisions concerning election and disciplinary procedures.]

The LCY has not squandered its historic role. It has embarked on the process of democratization, on its own reform, and has been making decisive strides to abandon its etatist positions, Dusan Dragosavac said. I am, however, very worried about those advocating the destruction of the LCY's unity. I am not just against it, but am of the view that it is the lack of unity which has put the LCY in the worst possible situation. We can and must pull out of the crisis. Changes in Eastern Europe will not change my view that socialism cannot be defeated. It will continue to be present even in the future European home, if it is ever brought to fruition.

He made special reference to the issue of national security in light of the latest developments in Europe. Military blocs in both East and West are being given a new and somewhat different role. The newly created situation has relaxed the circumstances concerning our national security and has impacted our views on the country's defenses and the role of all-people's defense. The LCY must draw up its new military doctrine to reflect the changes in the world, and in Europe in particular.

Dusan Dragosavac recommended that the congress adopt a number of documents and resolutions, including the declaration, a new LC program and statute in particular. He said that the resolution on nationalities is outmoded, or to be more precise, it is, in light of the latest events in Eastern Europe, rather premature. According to him, the congress should remain in session for 1 year, when it will meet again to assess both the country's situation following spring elections and the work of new leaderships. The issue of financing is bound to be raised, Dragosavac said. In my view, we should return to the old practice when delegates were accommodated by their fellow Communists, while those who are better off should pay their own expenses. That congress would be an opportunity to adopt new programs and resolutions to reflect trends in society.

He concluded by saying that the LC should show solidarity with the Soviet people in their struggle against Stalinism and also with the Romanian people and that it should condemn U.S. intervention in Panama. [passage omitted in which Branko Mamula sees the LC's opportunity in further democratization and ability to resolve open issues in society]

Slobodan Azaric asked Dusan Dragosavac to explain why the latter is calling for support for Mikhail Gorbachev and not for Kosovo and efforts to bring it out of a difficult situation. The drama of Kosovo has arisen as a consequence of a conflict between the Serbian LC on one hand, and the LC's of Slovenia and Croatia on the other. Azaric does not see the congress declaration as an improvement. If its draft had been submitted to a debate within the party, I would have been able to say what should be changed; but as the rank and file members were circumvented, I cannot do that. [passage omitted in which Slobodan Buncic stresses the need for reexamining the previous period, including the LC's merits and mistakes]

Stojan Milenkovic advocated a more tolerant interparty dialogue. There must be no dilemmas about the need for unity in the LCY. He sees political pluralism as inevitable, but called for tough action to counter attempts to misuse it. This congress must achieve unity in order to preserve Yugoslavia. The issue of the LCY's new name must be postponed until another time, Milenkovic said. [passage omitted: Ana Stanokovic criticizes lack of attention paid to young generation. Vlajko Brajic criticizes leadership for avoiding more radical changes as demanded by the LC rank and file.]

From the moment it allowed the national factor to gain priority over the class factor, the LCY began to lose its reputation, Jovan Radojcic said. That is the main cause of its organizational and ideological fission. National divisions, encouraged by the LCY elite, have been threatening Yugoslavia's territorial integrity. Equality which is being advocated, in principle, by everyone in the federation is often ignored by federal units. [passage omitted in which Radojcic reiterates above point and advocates a new party paper of yugoslav orientation]

Marko Cvijan criticized the manner of the LC's work so far; Cvijan said that mistakes had been made and that there had been a great deal of aimless wandering. In his view, the LC bears most responsibility for the position in which the working class found itself, as well as for the state of hopelessness among people. The LC's competitiveness will be proportional to its capacity to eliminate the mistakes it has been making so far.

In its future work the LC must proceed from the awareness that differing but reconcilable interests will be advocated by parties and alliances of most differing hues. He, therefore, suggested that the LC should ensure that it promptly identifies problems in society, that it implements its stands and resolutions consistently, that it abandons formalism and lack of openness in its work, and that it brings in more democracy in its decisionmaking. In his view, the LC will be more competitive in relation to other parties if it becomes more modest in its expenditure and if it reduces its membership fee. [passage omitted: Ivan Sergota favors a new LC whose work will reflect new social circumstances. Dragomir Draskovic calls for an explanation of how the principle of democratic unity to replace the principle of democratic centralism would function. Predrag Trajkovic criticizes the LC for an indifferent attitude toward future competition with others and calls for improved program and clearer stances. Danilo Markovic suggests that in addition to Tito and Krdelj the work of other personalities should be critically reappraised.]

Regardless of its past mistakes and the mistakes committed against individuals, the LCY nevertheless is a historically legitimate organization, Dragica Zgrebec said. If nothing else, at least it deserves credit for conducting the national liberation war under the slogan of brotherhood and unity.

In her view, LC reform must be carried out in four directions: It is necessary to abandon the provision about the party's leading role; democratic unity should replace democratic centralism; a switch over to a multiparty system in which the LC will figure as an equal partner should be made; and last, the LC's role and activities in the economy and work collectives should be reexamined.

To opt for a multiparty system would, in fact, be a step toward legalizing the existing situation, Dragica Zgrebec said. She said in this context that the LC had to regulate its attitude toward other parties, but that it should not allow its judgement to be of crucial importance for other parties' activity. I am convinced that extreme programs are attractive to a very small number of people, but this is a matter to be decided by other organs, Dragica Zgrebec said. [passage omitted: Dragomir Draskovic wants Article 22 of the LCY statute formulated in such a way as to have the power to resolve conflicts with the LCY. Slobodanka Graovac thinks history should be the judge of the LCY's past activities.]

Aleksandar Kojic agreed that for a long time the party was a powerful engine; now it has become a powerful brake. I differ from Comrade Druzic in that I think that we should not try now to dismantle this engine or to get rid of it. Party bureaucracy has done precisely that: it has pushed the engine off its path and into a quagmire. [passage omitted: Kojic reiterates above point. Branko Sekuljica insists LC must stop passing resolutions that reach conclusions which no one is willing to implement. Miroslav Boskovic, Milan Plavcic, and Stevan Baljosevic draw attention to the ominous onslaught of nationalism resulting from bureaucracy's struggle to retain power. Mirjana Radic calls for a more selective approach in criticizing Marxism and Marxist education.]

Miroslav Rabrenovic called for unity within the LCY and Yugoslavia and went on to warn that the opponents of that unity are becoming increasingly more aggressive, helped by the country's situation and the 1974 Constitution. While Europe is wiping out boundaries and is working toward integration, we seem to be going from small to even smaller.

The LC has been demystified, Rabtrenovic continued. It has lost its monopoly, and it has now become clear what a single-party system can lead to. A model of socialism badly conceived had to fall down, but not necessarily socialism as a process. There is no real democracy without opposition to the leading party. If the opposition's program turns out to be better than the one offered by the LC, the opposition will have to come to power and the LC will have to withdraw and become the opposition, Rabrenovic concluded. [passage omitted: Bozidar Debenjak stresses need for abandoning Bolshevik type of organization—in non-Bolshevik type of organizations there is no room for democratic centralism. Debenjak cites recent developments in Bar, Montenegro]

Dragan Mirotic responded to Debenjak's reference to the Bar case. He noted that the LCY's statutory commission had discussed the Montengro LC's decision to disband Bar LC municipal organizations and concluded that it was in line with both the law and the LCY statute. Unfounded attacks and criticism such as Debenjak's make no sense.

Debenjak is right to call for tolerance, Branislav Tiodorvic said. Is it, however, tolerance when Slovenia refuses to accept constitutional changes of Ante Markovic's program as a part of it. I agree with the call for "Europe now," but not "An alliance of alliances now". [passage omitted in which Dragan Jazbec says LC must renounce monopoly of power but should not distance itself totally from authority]

If the state is to become a law-governed one, there will be no need for the LC in its organs, Matija Gjerkes said. Elections are ahead of us in which the LC will take up the challenge from other organizations. As a result, a new balance of political forces will be established in assemblies.

In his view, this raises the issue of the LC organization in the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA]. According to him, it is not realistic to expect the party organization in the Army to be disbanded. We need time to find correct answers and other forms of organization. The JNA's reputation must be preserved, he said and went on to express his firm belief that the Army's officer cadre is in favor of full democracy and not just democratization. The Army must remain a stable institution in a law-governed state and should not look upon elections as a "hinderance". The JNA's position must not depend on the party in opposition, Gjerkes concluded.

In response to Gjerkes, Marko Negovanovic, a delegate from the JNA, said that the issue of the Army's depoliticization has been raised again. Gjerkes, however, raised it in a different way but the gist was the same.

Which army in the world has been depoliticized and left without its head and with a foreign finger on the trigger?, Negovanovic asked. What foundations will it have on which to build its moral and internal integrity? Are not the calls of this kind aimed at destroying the Army's Yugoslav character and the concept of all-people's defense and are they not designed to pave the way for the introduction of separate armies in republics? What consequences would this have and who would take on the responsibility for such a move?

Negovanovic went on to note that the "JNA grew out of the efforts to put out the flames of a fratricidal war and to promote brotherhood and unity with Tito and Communists at the head." It is, therefore, not hard to judge where calls for the JNA's depoliticization will lead.

A "congress in session" is a phrase heard increasingly frequently at the top gathering of Yugoslav Communists. Milan Mazalica and Mira Gajic, delegates from Banjaluka, spoke about it during this afternoon's debate in the Commission for the LCY's Transformation. According to Mazalica, unity in the LC is more a fiction than reality. He agrees with all those who claim that today the LC is an alliance of alliances that have in common the concern for their own national interests alone. Something, therefore, must be changed. This congress must become a congress in session, if I can put it this way, and must remain in session for as long as appropriate documents are adopted which will unite us again and enable us to restore our old, Yugoslav LC. The 15th congress will approve of these documents in a relatively short period of time. [passage omitted: Mira Gajic agrees with above speaker. Nikola Jovanovic rejects the idea of a "congress in session' explaining that a program is urgently needed.]

Nikola Jovanovic went on to vigorously oppose the idea of an alliance of alliances because, in his view, this would lead to a confederation, the disintegration of Yugoslavia, and the destruction of the LCY. We must restore unity in the LCY if we wish this country well, he stressed and went on to ask Slovene Communists: How is it that they advocate a united Yugoslav market but not a united LCY? In his view, the issue is a conflict between the Slovene LC and the LCY. [passage omitted: Jelena Kosanovic criticizes one-dimensional education system as encouraged by Marxism]

Janko Veselinovic said that although not given legitimacy in all parts of the country, the multiparty system exists in reality. The LCY's, future therefore, lies in its transformation into a party.

As a communist party, it should be a modern, united organization based on federal principles and not an "alliance of alliances." Members would accept the program of such a party by signing a declaration and no one would be banned from joining the party. The party president would be elected by the rank and file members. The organization's statute would be short and concise. The party would meet in a congress more often and its Central Committee would have fewer members. The principle of decree and provisions on the LC's merits would be taken out of the statute.

We have been talking about what we do not want instead of what we want, Vladimir Stambuk said. We want development, socialism, a united Yugoslavia, and democracy, he continued. We must therefore agree on what we expect from democracy and civil rights and on what has become our specific feature, namely the equality of our nations and nationalities.

Having noted that in parliamentary democracies the party that wins elections assumes the monopoly of power with centralism as the prevailing feature, Stambuk said that if that was the system we wanted we would first have to agree what part the LC would have in such a system. [Passage omitted: Stambuk criticizes ambiguities in the declaration. Vladimir Peco rejects an idea to set up a special commission to reexamine Tito's work.]

Pezo went on to express his dissappointment with the fact that the work of this particular commission, which was fighting for the party's survival, was not attended by top party functionaries. The only one present is Petar Simic (president of the LC Committee in the JNA). All party leaders are at the commission for the Political System where the battle for the state is being fought, Pezo remarked. [passage omitted: Pezo calls for more clarity in LC's commitments]

In Celestin Sardelic's view, we are today witnessing not the disintegration of socialism but an irrevocable breakdown of the Stalinist and centralist model of socialism. Sardelic opposed ideas likely to lead to the renewal of Bolshevism which, in his view, would give rise to further conflicts. Neo-Bolshevic concept has, in recent years, displayed its scope and has in the process lost its appeal. According to him, the LCY must abandon all the hallmarks of a Bolshevik Communist Party and draw up a modern political program with which to compete.

If it opts for the latter the LCY will have to abandon atheism and its sectarian attitude toward believers. The LC should be joined on the basis of its program and not on the basis on one's outlook on the world.

Sardelic called for a new way in the LCY's communication with its members and the public which will be in contrast with ideological violence, purges, and counterrevolution. If they accept democratic rules of the game, those who hold differing views are no longer enemies but a political factor, a legitimate political opponent, Sardelic said. [passage omitted: Boris Pricard thinks compromise is still possible for achieving a new type of unity]

Life itself has decreed what the LC should be, Sonja Lokar said. The party will have to respond to the imperatives of life or it will cease to exist. This implies, above all, an organizational transformation in the cell system which has so far been based on hierarchy. In our circumstances, where differences are so great, this means that the LC must become an alliance of free republican and provincial organizations which will observe all the norms of civilized society. This also implies that the new LC would assume the charateristics of a political party and would be prepared to function under a democratic parliamentarian system.

Within the reformed LC the decisionmaking by majority vote would apply, Sonja Lokar said, but (?not) on the one man one vote principle. When this is not possible the principle of agreement would be applied.

Unless the LC carries out such a reform, she stressed, a defeat, perhaps a bloody one, would be inevitable. This must be taken on board, she stressed. The congress of Slovene Communists has therefore asked its delegates to the extraordinary LCY congress to advocate reform. Slovene Communists will insist that a declaration be adopted which will not contain the provision on democratic centralism and would provide for an LCY as an alliance of free republican and provincial organizations.

Regardless of what the congress decides, Sonja Lokar explained, Slovene Communists will in the future behave according to these new, reform-outlined principles.

The changes taking place in Yugoslavia now, Marko Negovanovic noted, are a result of the crisis we have found ourselves in and not by any means the result of new and mature ideas at the political scene. Lack of ideas, and above all the LC's inability, have revived, in his opinion, anticommunist concepts verging on hysteria.

Such concepts, Negovanovic said, undoubtedly supported from abroad, are exacerbating nationalist passions as they depict the statehood of the republics and provinces as the highest ideal. The disintegration of Yugoslavia is their ultimate goal because all anticommunist ideas are at the same time anti-Yugoslav ideas.

The wave of anticommunism, according to Negovanovic, has not spared Yugoslavia's defense system either. The increasingly frequent attacks on the Yugoslav Peoples' Army and the recent demands for its depoliticization, he noted, are being justified by the developments in Eastern Europe. In the course of this the fact is overseen that our revolution was an authentic one rather than an imported one, Negovanovic undelined.

All these developments have seemingly scared even the Communists, he noted. However, renouncing the monopoly does not necessarily mean leaving the political scene. The first condition for this is to achieve ideological and political unity within the LCY, Negovanovic concluded.

Unity in the LCY is the biggest problem. We are only formally united, while in practice we are far from being so, Stevan Mirkovic said. I am against party disunity. All Communists must fight not only for their areas' interests, but also for the country's togetherness. Such unity can be attained but it is not good that we have in the LCY's leadership delegates of national leagues, Mirkovic pointed out. It is precisely here that we have the explanation of why we do not have the expected action at the Yugoslav level. Stevan Mirkovic energetically opposed proposals that the LCY take as a model some parties with a Western profile. We at least have experience here because previously we took the East as a model, and everyone knows how we fared. We made a mistake. If we have embarked on economic reform, then we must also succeed with other reforms. Speaking in Slovene, he then addressed Milos Ciric, a delegate from Ljubljana, refuting his claims made yesterday that the elections in Kosovo had been overshadowed by truncheons. [passage omitted]

Muhamed Hajdarpasic proposed that no one member from the previous Central Committee should be elected to the new Central Committee, except those from the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army. He divided all LCY members into three groups. The largest is made up of those who are wholeheartedly for the LCY

program and the organization's transformation. The second group contains those who entered the LCY out of careerist motives, while the third group contains those who are destroying the LCY from within.

I do not agree, Hajdarpasic continued, with the proposal to abolish democratic centralism because failure to respect it is the cause of disunity in the organization. This is, as he put it, a reply to his former teacher, Boze Debenjak, who advocated the abolition of this principle, about which he formerly told fairy tales. At that time, Hajdarpasic said, he was probably receiving hefty expenses.

At this the chairman recalled the rule about respecting a personality's dignity, and this was applauded. [passage omitted]

After a short break, the commission continued its work, with the Secretariat warning that a further 137 delegates were still waiting to take the floor. [passage omitted]

Branko Horvat said that those who know the basics know that many are waiting to see how the congress will end before deciding whether they will continue to remain in the LCY. He drew attention to the danger of a mass departure of good cadres from the LCY if the congress ends in the tone adopted today.

Horvat stressed that our party used to have enormous moral capital with which it would have won victory in every election had there been any, but that had disappeared at the end of the 1960's, after the student revolts. We now have a party which has divided the country and has also reintroduced repression and political trials which exist today, to our shame. It has destroyed brotherhood and unity, the most important achievement of the national liberation war, and perhaps has fatally discredited socialism.

It is a law from our national liberation struggle that the party which unites this country rules it. If this party does not do this now, others will do it. Those who do not understand this are the liquidators both of the LCY and of socialism.

Horvat recalled that the LCY can be united only if it is a party of like-minded poeple. However, within the LCY there are extremely fundamental conceptual differences; practically speaking there are two parties, something which is also a cause of the present situation. It is a matter of a division into democrats-cum-socialists and undemocratic authoritarian Bolshevik-minded individuals.

Invoking an experience of Karl Marx, Horvat said that it is better to divide ourselves into two national parties, rather than six, which would generate nationalism. These two parties would be general Yugoslav parties and a citizen from any part of the country could become a member of them. In this way we would not only acquire two united parties, but would make it possible for those who previously left our ranks to return to a socialist party. In this context, Branko Horvat said that a federation of federations is not acceptable either, because it leads to feudalization.

He then began to speak about the activity of the Association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative (UJDI), but as a result of a protest by those present, who had already permitted him to speak longer, he refrained from this. In the end he said that he had been informed that discussions are going on in Ljubljana about the foundation of a new communist party. I call on them to do this as quickly as possible so that all those who wish to do so may join it and in this way leave here only those who have the same views, Horvat said.

[Passage omitted] Mirko Vujosevic pointed out that it is not good to speak in an expressly negative way about the 13th Congress, without seeing one's own responsibility. According to him, the draft congress documents do not give cause for optimism, largely because they were "stitched together" before the congress and because they are the work of the old leadership. They can be improved but not radically changed, Vujosevic said. He sharply criticized the Party leadership's accomplishments during the inter-congress period. [passage omitted]

Branko Caratan submitted an amendment according to which outvoting in the LCY when important things are on the agenda for all the republics and provinces and the federation, would not be possible.

Ivan Mandzija believed that, under the conditions of intensified competition of political pluralism, the LCY must adopt a new program. It would be bad for the LCY to wait 3 to 4 years for a new program. He proposed that the congress authorize the new LC Central Committee to prepare a new party program within a period of 6 months and that instead of congress delegates, Central Committee members adopt it. [passage omitted: Luka Mestrovic proposes that the congress get rid of the exponents of factionalism and nationalism. Mladen Zuvela reminds delegates of the workers' economic plight.]

Fikret Muslimovic spoke in detail about ideopolitical work in the Yugoslav Army, especially about the struggle against nationalism, because it is considered to be the greatest destructive danger to unity. Communists in the Yugoslav People's Army reso[illegible]y reject views that the communist idea is to blame for current interethnic relations. We do not permit anyone to attack Communists and their conception of brotherhood and unity. This is anticommunist deception, Muslimovic said.

The transition to a multiparty system is, in Alija Terzic's opinion, one of the conditions for modernizing the LC so that it might maintain power, or at least gain influence. It is also necessary that the LCY support more powerfully the present conception of economic policy but also that it redefine its aims, bearing in mind that Marxism's creators were also antidogmatists and that they said that in their activity they should keep only what proved to be good in practice. In this context he proposed that LC

move over to organization in accordance with the territorial principle and that room be found in the documents for religion, and in the membership for believers.

Mirjana Antusevich warned that some republics are using the country's present situation to seperate themselves from Yugoslavia and bring about its dismemberment. She asked where are the Communists; surely they have not forgotten the blood they have shed. Problems are not resolved by fleeing to another party. [passage omitted suggesting that the LC should distance itself from those members who have contributed to the decline of its reputation]

Advocating "discontinuity" with the past, Oragan Kalinic, noted the permanent destruction "of the left" opposition to the LC—beginning with "68", the case surrounding the PRAKSIS journal, the Korcula summer schools and the so-called Anarcho-liberals, and the fabrication of various political trials—as one of the biggest mistakes. Instead of this, mediocrity and true thieves have been protected.

Today the registration of various "left-wing" organizations, like the Association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, should not be thwarted, Kalinic said. Regardless of whether Communists will win the elections or not, they must ensure a "left-wing" orientation toward society's development. For these elections the new LCY Central Committee should otherwise put together a clear platform as a united organization, democratized radically from within. [passage omitted: Adil Kulenovic appeals for the congress to conduct a more tolerant debate]

It is true that anticommunism is on the offensive, Dusan Budimir believes and points out that its goal is the destruction of the system by smashing the LCY into leagues and factions, by introducing a multiparty system on the whole territory, by taking Yugoslavia into social democracy, and finally by taking power. The autonomy of republican party organizations, according to him, cannot be opposed to the unity of the LC. He also pointed out that the LC in the Yugoslav People's Army opposes the abolition of the working principle in party organization.

In connection with the demand to abolish the LC organization in the Yugoslav People's Army, Budimir stated that the goal of this is the Army's depoliticization, "reform," and professionalization. This is tantamount to preventing people in the Yugoslav People's Army from acting politically. [passage omitted: Milutin Folic states support for pluralism, not for anarchy]

Boris Kralj said that Slovenia is not a provincial district [banovina] but a republic, and this is why Slovene Communists cannot accept the hegemony of anyone, or unitarism. Slovene Communists, he stressed, do not want to remain "hostages of an antibureaucratic revolution," and hence, he said, they have the right to their own autonomous organization. He advocated a united LCY in the areas of pluralism but he takes the view that this unity does not exist while the stances of the Serbian LC are as they are.

Milan Bundalo immediately reacted to the words of Boris Kralj and pointed out that after these discussions the congress must answer the question of whether we are truly for a united LCY and whether all delegates belong to the same part at all. [passage omitted on the initiative concerning the "federation of federations" which remains unresolved. Dusan Gostovic supports fight for unity in a modern, democratic LCY]

The LCY cannot be the mandator for other political organizations, Radoje Prokic assessed. In his opinion the LC made the biggest mistake when it forgot whose avant-garde it was. Of the candidates for the new Central Committee, Prokoc observed, there is only one young person and nine workers. At the end, he asked whose interests Branko Horvat, otherwise a candidate member of the LCY Central Committee, would defend: those of the LC or the newly founded federation of the Association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative.

Bozo Golic said that he is disappointed with the congress, and Stevan Lazarov stressed that if the congress declaration is not adopted, he will leave the LC. Svetozar Solaja, also a delegate from Vojvodina, fully agreed with his speech.

The final participant in the debate, Ivan Garac, proposed that the Central Committee be obliged to prepare a draft new party program by May, which would be adopted, after public discussion, by the end of the year. His stance is that the unity of Yugoslavia and the LC should not be brought into question.

The work of the Commission for the LCY's Transformation, during the course of which 148 delegates spoke, ended in confusion, which arose after delegates learned of the statemnt by Slovene LC delegates, so it is not known when and whether this commission will adopt the report on its work. It turned out that delegates who followed the commission's work during the afternoon and this evening did not know about this statement, which was read out by one of the delegates at the end of the commission's session, nor did members of the commission's working presidium.